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PRICE TWO CENTS.

BORING FROM WITHOUT

St. Louis Social Democracy Dropping To Pieces.

ARMORY CORRUPTION.

Connection of the Social Democracy, Alias "Socialist Party" With the Organized Scabbery, That "To-day So Nobly Wages the Class Struggle," Begins to Bear Fruit, Ripped by Socialist Labor Party Unflinching Education-Authentic Signed Statement by Six Members, Who Pull Out of the Bogus Concern-More to Come-Differences Between the S. L. P. and the "Alliance Party."

St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 21.
To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—Since the Unity convention, held in Indianapolis to "Unite the Socialists of the United States" into one body with one aim and one object, there has been considerable want of union here in Local St. Louis, which to overcome it became necessary to organize on the plan of "Ward Autonomy," not seeking to come together very often, and when we did we held executive sessions and went home believing something was wrong some where when it was so hard to get the Socialists (sic) to agree.

The following is an account of one of those meetings, and the causes leading up to it, hoping you will take the time to read it and (if you consider it worth space) publish as much of it as you may think will interest your readers.

Included find copy of the minutes of the Central Trades and Labor Union (this copy is in this office for inspection; too long to reproduce) on p. 2 of which is seen an entry favoring government building of warships, etc.; also a notice sent to the members of the party (also in this office for inspection) of St. Louis calling a special meeting of its members to consider the question raised by the Sixteenth Ward Club (of said party) as to whether it was proper and BECOMING CONDUCT for a member of the National Committee to advocate the building of warships to destroy this working class of this and other countries, and also to find out if it was right for a member of the N. E. C. to advocate to the capitalist Senators petition to "do something for the working class," for which two offences the Sixteenth Ward Club preferred charges against one L. E. Hildebrand, a member of the "quorum" of five N. E. C. of the S. P. and demanded his resignation as a member of the Board.

It came about in the following manner: On November 10 the C. T. & L. U. (pure and simple) received a communication from the Trades and Labor Council of Yallajo, Cal., asking the C. T. & L. U. of St. Louis to petition the Congressmen and Senators of Missouri to use their influence to have a portion of the war vessels—which are now built under private enterprise—built in the navy yards of the United States government.

Some of the members of the Sixteenth Ward Club, being present at the meeting, were much annoyed at seeing L. E. Hildebrand, a member of the N. E. C. of the "Socialist Party," support the resolution petitioning the politicians to build warships cheaply and expeditiously "in the interest of the working class."

At the regular meeting of the Sixteenth Ward Club, held on the following Thursday, the action taken by L. E. Hildebrand at the meeting came up for discussion, and his action was denounced as un-class-conscious; it was declared that to build warships cheaply and expeditiously would only strengthen the armed forces of our old enemy the capitalist class and THEIR government, and it was decided to prefer charges against the member and demand his resignation as member of the N. E. C. So a committee was elected to prefer the charges, which they accordingly did, and once more the Socialists of St. Louis were called together so they could hear and determine whether or not warships are built for the benefit of the working class.

The writer was present at that meeting (the call for the meeting is also in this office for inspection). It is necessary to state this, because not everybody was allowed admittance. Three Socialist Labor Party members were present, and their red buttons caused considerable uneasiness in the camp, and a motion was made "to go into executive session," which was adopted after considerable discussion and various remarks about S. L. P.'s being present, who would "misrepresent the meeting." Poor, timid creatures! who could place them in any worse light than they put themselves by their motion!

One of the S. L. P. men asked for the floor to make a statement, and they granted him three minutes. We told them that he had heard some of their speakers say that the only difference between the S. L. P. and the S. P. was in their attitude towards the Trade

Unions. "Now," said he, "I want to show you another difference—It is this: At any time your members are welcome to attend our meetings. They are open to the public. We have been invited by some of your members to attend this meeting, and you turn us away. That is another difference, and," he continued, "I would like to show other differences that there are in plenty but cannot do so in the limited time you have given me." So with an invitation to one and all to attend the S. L. P. meetings, he concluded. His calm and dignified manner after being treated so badly had a good effect and helped to make clear the difference between the real, and the bogus Socialist.

Well, after we got rid of those "horrid red buttons," we tried to get down to business. The call for the meeting was read. In that call it states specifically that the meeting was called to consider the question raised by the 16th Ward Branch, and the question is fairly stated in said call, as indicated above. Imagine our indignation if you can, when we, after being called away from our homes in zero weather, to consider the charges preferred against a member, occupying one of the most responsible positions in the movement, I say again, imagine our indignation, when we saw that by a scheming device and a tricky resolution we were prevented from getting him off the board, even though our arguments should convince every person in the meeting that he (Hildebrand) was unfit to occupy the position he held, and that he was using it to strengthen the capitalist class.

Now please bear in mind that the meeting was called to consider the question raised by the Sixteenth Ward Club, which question was principally the demand for Hildebrand's resignation as a member of the Executive Board. Now read the resolution: [Enclosure will be found at the bottom of this report.] You will at once see that they were determined at all hazards to save him. The "intellectuals" were five weeks planning out some scheme. They were afraid that if the question of incompetency to hold office on the Executive Board (of even a so-called Socialist movement) was decided against Hildebrand that other heads would fall soon after. One middle-head would stand up for another. They were determined that S. L. P. methods were not going to be introduced of calling for the resignation of unfit members.

The members of the Sixteenth Ward called the attention of the meeting to the fact that the resolution made it impossible to consider the very question for which they met, and offered a substitute condemning Hildebrand's action, and demanding his resignation. This was voted down by a big majority, which left the resolution of the intellectuals the only question before the house.

A motion to limit speeches to three minutes was amended to give one member of the Sixteenth Ward fifteen minutes to open the debate, and Hildebrand fifteen minutes to close, and was carried.

To the writer was entrusted the opening of the debate, but being already thoroughly disgusted with the tactics adopted, and feeling the hopelessness of the task, in trying to convince such an audience of the class character of a Socialist movement, and the necessity for reliance on the working class only. It was little use to tell them that the duty of an officer of a Socialist movement was to mould the class struggle in such shape as to make the working class self-reliant and to make them clear as to their aim, not to confuse them or to lead them to believe that the capitalist will by petitioning better their condition. It was little use to tell them that it was a crime for a Socialist to seek to raise the wages of the militia, army, navy or navy-builders. They couldn't see it that way. The arguments brought forward in defence would put a circus clown to shame for ludicrousness. One gentleman insisted that we cannot help assisting the capitalist government. "If you buy a newspaper," said he, "or if you raise wheat, make clothes or shoes they go to feed and clothe the armed forces of capitalism. What is the difference in feeding the soldier and building an armory or war ships? Why, you cannot separate it with an axe."

Six of the best informed members (whose signatures are attached) have quit the movement, not simply on account of the Hildebrand affair, but because they have been getting THE PEOPLE and other Socialist literature of the S. L. P. and above all must be mentioned the Karl Marx class, which Section St. Louis, S. L. P., started, which has done more work than anything else to enlighten us and place us in a condition—mentally—so that we are now able to distinguish between a real and a bogus Socialist movement.

Knowing the foregoing to be a true statement we attach our signatures in confirmation.

RICHARD MURPHY,
WM. J. HAGER,
CHAS. E. HAGER,
JOHN A. FELTMAN,
GUSTAVE F. KIEFER,
CHAS. J. MEYER.

(Signed.) 862 N. Sixteenth St.
N. B.—These six quit the movement, and by the time this will reach you three of the six will be in the genuine Socialist movement.

(Enclosure.)
Whereas, the Socialist movement of America has grown beyond that stage when the preservation of its integrity as a class conscious labor movement depended upon a strict discipline of all members and officers in regard to all their utterances and actions and has reached the period when its adherence to the fundamental principles of Socialism can be secured only through the elimination of error from our midst by

(Continued on page 3.)

THIES'S TRICKS.

THE PART HE PLAYED IN THE CASH REGISTER COMPANY CON-
TROVERSY.

The Metal Polishers Issue a Statement Charging Him With All the Crimes On the Calendar that Can Be Charged to the Up-to-date Labor Fakir—His Bogus Meeting, Letters, Expulsion and Injunction.

Dayton, O., Dec. 28.—The Metal Polishers' Union is hot on the trail of E. H. Thies, First Vice-President of the International Association of Allied Metal Mechanics. In a statement just issued the Metal Polishers charge Thies with all the crimes on the calendar that can be charged to the up-to-date labor fakir. Desertion, ingratitude, duplicity, corruption and betrayal are among them.

A short history of the Allied Mechanics in the National Cash Register Company is given in the statement. According to it the Allied Mechanics got a foothold in the Cash Register Company through the perstige of the Metal Polishers. The company endeavored to break up the mechanics' organization through the use of its elaborate spy system. Success would have resulted were it not for the cooperation of the metal polishers, who appointed a committee that settled the matter and compelled the "scabs" in the shop to pay \$100 each to the Allied Mechanics.

When the Metal Polishers had their little difficulty and had placed the Cash Register Company on the "unfair" list, however, there came a change.

Matters that were discussed at the Metal Polishers' Union were carried to the company.

Thies, after the Allied Mechanics had the privilege (?) of organizing the shop, was elected the business agent, and soon made himself "the whole thing."

It is reported, according to the statement of the Metal Polishers, that Thies went to the Cash Register Company and guaranteed if they would open the shop that "his men" would go to work, and if necessary, take the work from any "scab" polishers or molders it could get, and their actions since prove it to be a fact.

Thies then traveled around the country in the interests of his organization, knocking out the Metal Polishers in their fight. He acted after John F. Weise, ex-President of the Liquor Dealers Association had failed to create sentiment in favor of the Cash Register Company. He wrote a letter to the company as follows:

Dayton, O., Sept. 16, 1901.

National Cash Register Company, Mr. Robert Patterson, manager, Dayton, Ohio:

Dear Sir:—On Wednesday night, September 11, 1901, at a joint session of the metal mechanics of the city of Dayton, 1,200 of whom are employed at the National Cash Register Company's plant, it was decided by unanimous vote of that organization to refuse to take any hand in the controversy existing at the National Cash Register Company's factory between the metal polishers and brass molders and that company.

Yours very truly,

EDW. H. THIES,

First Vice-President of I. A. of A. M. M.

The metal polishers claim that no such joint meeting was held. They ask "If there was, why did not the officers of the five locals they claim to have in the city add their names? Thies could not get them, for they are with us, so he signs for twelve hundred and fifty members."

That Thies' letter to the National Cash Register Company was of good use to it may be seen from the following extract from another letter taken from the Polishers' statement:

Dayton, O., Sept. 26, 1901.

Mr. W. M. Sperr, Lima, N. Y.:

Dear Sir:—We are just in receipt of your favor of the 20th inst., in which you state that one of the keys of your register, 45,117, is broken, and that you are thinking of exchanging it for a more modern register, but that a committee from the Metal Polishers had visited you and stated that our factory is on the unfair list.

We are surprised to learn this, as we have employed in our factory over 2,000 union men, representing fifteen and twenty organizations, and if we are on the unfair list it does not seem reasonable to suppose that the 2,000 men would be working in our factory. IF YOU ARE NOT SATISFIED WITH THIS STATEMENT WE REFER YOU TO MR. E. H. THIES, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ALLIED MECHANICS, OR MR. J. OSWALD, CORNER FIFTH AND JEFFERSON STREETS, DAYTON, OHIO, ANOTHER OFFICER OF THE ABOVE ASSOCIATION.

The letter from which this extract is taken is signed:
NATIONAL CASH REGISTER CO.
E. B. WILSON, Sales Dept.
H. E. S.—N.

This indirect use of his letter did not seem to please Thies for he is next found distributing letters broadcast among the National Cash Register Company's customers.

This is a copy of one of the letters:

Dayton, O., Oct. 21, 1901.

Mr. L. Mark, Branford, Conn.:
Dear Sir:—I have been requested to write to you in regard to the labor situa-

PROGRESSIVE TAILORS.

They Disband the Organization and Turn the Funds Over to the S. L. P.

The Tailors' Progressive Union, an organization that has been in the field of the Labor Movement for the last twenty years, always in the front ranks and never lagging behind and long affiliated with the S. T. & L. A. ever since the formation of that organization through D. A. 49, in view of a trade development that drove most of its members out of their positions has decided to disband the organization and hand over its property to the Socialist Labor Party as provided in its constitution.

By means of a close sub-division of labor, dividing the work formerly done by one man into perhaps thirty different persons—the so-called Boston system—cheap female labor was introduced and the field for organization became barren.

Unwilling to copy the methods pursued by the fakirs of the United German Workers, namely, to maintain a skeleton of an organization, useless to the workers, but useful to the fakirs because of the chance to collect dues, the remaining members of the Progressive Tailors' Union, unable to continue along the lines to which the organization had been held in the past, made up their mind to dissolve it altogether.

What funds were left in the treasury (\$33.61) have been turned over to the "Abend-Blatt," in recognition of the fact that it is the only Jewish paper which straightforwardly and unswervingly stands by the interest of the working class and is therefore deserving of all the support that can be given to it.

We make this announcement with due regard to the interest of the public and in order to prevent a fraudulent or illegitimate use of the name of the disbanded organization.

tion at the National Cash Register Company's factory in this city.

I understand you have been informed that our membership, which consists of 1,250 members in that factory, were working as scabs and non-union. I will say that such reports are wrong. Besides our membership, there are at present working in that factory, fourteen other local unions, consisting of Machinists, Team Drivers, Printers, Wood Workers, Carpenters and several other crafts, all affiliated with their respective international and with the American Federation of Labor, and all are working as strictly union shops.

If you wish a detailed statement of the reason why these organizations refuse to participate in the attempt of the Metal Polishers to put this company on the unfair list I will furnish same on application, but let me assure you that the National Cash Register Company are not antagonistic to organized labor, and if you were acquainted with the facts in connection with the matters complained of, as I am, you would agree that mistakes were made, and we cannot afford to support mistakes at the expense of just criticism of all our organizations.

It seems to be the duty of our organization, in this instance, to maintain the reputation of organized labor for fair dealing. Your truly,

E. H. THIES,

First Vice Pres. I. A. of A. M. M.

In contradiction to the above the Central Trades Council on November 14, adopted the following resolutions:

Dayton, O., Nov. 15, 1901.

Mr. A. C. Blashfield, Secretary, Metal Polishers' Local No. 5, Dayton, O.:

Dear Sir and Brother—I am instructed to notify you that at the last regular meeting of the Dayton Central Trades Council, held on Thursday, November 14, 1901, the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, the Metal Polishers' Local Union No. 5, and the Brass Molders', No. 133, have been on strike at the plant of the National Cash Register Company because of unjust discrimination against union men; and

Whereas, Newspapers and other means have been used by said company to circulate a story that the N. C. R. Co. is fair, and that no trouble exists between this firm and its employees, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Dayton Central Trades Council reaffirms its position in the difficulty existing between the above-named unions and the N. C. R. Co.; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be spread upon the minutes of the Central Trades Council, and that a copy of same be given to the Metal Polishers' Union No. 5 for general distribution for the purpose of countering any rumors set afloat by the National Cash Register Company as to the conditions existing at their plant, or as regards the attitude of this Central Trades Council on same fraternally yours.

THE DAYTON CENTRAL TRADES COUNCIL.

(Signed.) W. G. CRITCHLOW,

Secretary.

On Saturday, Dec. 21, Thies was expelled from the Central Trades Council for sending out the statements contained in his letters to the N. C. R. Co.'s customers.

He immediately obtained an injunction restraining the "Montgomery County Reporter," the official organ of the Trades Council, from circulating issues containing an account of his expulsion.

Thies is on the war path and threatens to make it worse for the Trades Council, which is controlled absolutely by Social Democrats. The fight promises revelations that will once more lay bare the treacherous actions of the Organized Scabbery and its accomplice, the Social Democracy.

"LABOR PARTY" SPLITS.

THE EXPECTED HAS HAPPENED IN SAN FRANCISCO.

Mayor-Elect Schmitz Led the Walk-out—He Was Originally a Harmonizer—Fight Over Patronage Leads to Disruption.

San Francisco, Cal., Dec. 25.—The expected has happened. The Executive committee of the Union Labor party, which is the governing body of that political organization, split in two last night, and Mayor-elect Schmitz led the majority into another hall and reorganized it as the county committee of the party.

The differences in the committee first came to the surface at the meeting of a week ago. After adopting a constitution and rules of order at that meeting the committee proceeded to effect permanent organization by electing Wm. Delaney to succeed J. S. Parry as chairman and J. Dowling to succeed George Aubertin as secretary. Both the officers removed were "Labor-Republicans," while both of their successors were Labor-Democrats. Parry, who had a misty recollection of Parliamentary tactics that he had witnessed on some similar occasion, voted with the majority, and then changed his vote to the minority and gave notice of reconsideration at the next meeting. This is held by his opponents to be contrary to good Parliamentary usage, and further, other business has intervened between the vote and the motion to reconsider.

But the main point upon which the anti-Parry faction relies is a legal one. The executive committee that existed prior to a week ago was the product of a petition convention. An election was held and the candidates of that petition convention received over three per cent of the votes cast, making it a regularly constituted party. The executive committee, at its meeting a week ago, adopted a constitution and by-laws for the Union Labor party county committee and reorganized the committee under those laws. The Parry wing of the committee was defeated by a vote of 13 to 12, and the opposition now claims that the officers they then elected as permanent are statutory officers under section 1188 of the Political Code as amended at the last regular session of the Legislature.

The anti-Parry faction was on hand at the meeting place as early as 7 o'clock last evening. Chairman Delaney took possession of the chair and sat, with a hammer as a gavel, awaiting the arrival of the hour for opening the meeting and the necessary quorum. He was accompanied by a number of the anti-Parry stalwarts, who devoted the time to a discussion of the chances of Parry for Congress in the Fourth district. The leading spirit of the assemblage was Tim Ryan, vice-president of the committee, while Treasurer McKeon contributed to the exchange of views.

Shortly before eight o'clock the Parry contingent, accompanied by Mayor-elect Schmitz and Jack Daughney, the defeated candidate for Tax Collector, arrived at the entrance of the hall. Their scents evidently had informed them of the condition of affairs up stairs, for they held a consultation on the sidewalk. At 8:20 o'clock the late arrivals, headed by Mayor-elect Schmitz, marched into the hall and took the rear seats, the chairs in front having been pre-empted by the opposition.

Chairman Delaney brought down the hammer with a bang and declared the meeting opened. He called upon former Secretary Aubertin for the minutes of the previous meeting, and Aubertin replied that he did not have them with him. The chairman then instructed Secretary Dowling to take the minutes of the present meeting.

"Do you refuse to give up the minutes?" the chairman asked Aubertin.

"I do," was the reply.

Parry wanted all persons not members of the committee excluded from the hall. Ryan amended to except the reporters and Mayor Schmitz.

Captain Krimphoff of the Parry forces demanded that the names of the members be taken down as a roll call.

The chairman ruled that the vote could be taken viva voce.

When the motion was put there was a tremendous "Aye!" from the Delaney wing in front, and the Parry forces vociferously yelled "No!"

The ayes have it," ruled the chairman.

A tremendous hubbub followed. Captain Krimphoff, the musician, and Fitzpatrick, the paver, led the lung test. Mayor Schmitz, who was seated midway of the room, said: "I have not come here to listen to a disturbance and to participate in a disorderly meeting. All those in favor of holding an orderly meeting will follow me to another hall."

A majority of those present, including the newly elected secretary, followed the lead of Schmitz as the latter strode out of the place.

The minority held the fort and Ryan moved that the chairman appoint a committee of three to wait on Mayor-elect Schmitz and invite him to attend the next meeting.

The motion was carried, and the chairman appointed Ryan, Hutchinson and Lane as the invitation committee.

Ryan moved that the chairman appoint a committee of seven to confer with a similar committee of the Ironclad Club relative to the acquisition of the Geary street Railway and other public utilities.

The lights were put out by the enemy at this juncture, but were turned on a little later. There was some opposition to the motion and Ryan withdrew it.

Simmons, one of the opposition and a member of the Theatrical Workers, in whose hall the meeting was held, ordered the anti-Parry men to vacate the premises and threatened to call in the police.

"Oh, try and be gentlemen," pleaded Ryan.

Then Jack Daughney appeared at the door, and, pointing his finger at the chairman, said: "Now, Delaney, be good."

"Don't you try to disrupt this meeting," retorted Delaney.

"You can't disrupt me neither," was the response of Daughney.

An adjournment was taken until next Tuesday evening, when this branch of the committee will meet at Cooks and Waiters' Hall, No. 113 O'Farrell street.

In the meantime the other faction had assembled in Unity Hall at No. 102 O'Farrell street, across the way, with Parry in the chair.

The following preamble and resolutions presented by A. H. Ewell were adopted:

Whereas, as the last meeting of this committee an election of officers was held under misapprehension and misunderstanding; Resolved, That all reference to such an election be expunged from the minutes of said committee meeting; that all action taken in reference thereto be annulled, and set aside, and the officers of this committee as previously elected be and they are hereby declared to be elected permanent officers of this committee.

Resolved, That a vice chairman and treasurer be now elected, and, together with the chairman and secretary, they be and are hereby declared the permanent officers of this committee.

The following resolution by Krimphoff was also adopted:

Whereas, the governing committee of the Union Labor party assembled at No. 113 O'Farrell street at 8:20 P. M. on this date could not act any of its business on account of constant interruption, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the sense of this committee is that Unity Hall, No. 102 O'Farrell street, be to-night our regular meeting place.

Secretary Aubertin, who had resumed the desk, read the minutes of the previous meeting, which were adopted except those portions ordered expunged by resolution.

On motion of Parry all parts of the minutes relative to the constitution and by-laws adopted at the last meeting were also ordered expunged from the minutes, and a committee of five on constitution and by-laws was ordered appointed by the chairman.

Parry appointed to this committee T. Fredericks, James A. Mullally, J. Crowley, S. D. Simmons and James Roxborough. With the exception of Crowley they are all on the former committee. Crowley takes the place of Powers, who joined the anti-Parry wing.

Parry made a speech congratulating the committee on having got rid of a disturbing element. J. J. Dowling, of the Hackmen was elected vice-chairman, S. D. Simmons of the Theatrical Employees treasurer, and Charles Holloway sergeant-at-arms.

Mayor-elect Schmitz made a speech in which he said:

"I heard that there was to be a little unpleasantness, and I attended the meeting with the best intentions of creating harmony, because I wish to see the Union Labor party perpetuated. When I saw that it was the intention of a minority to stir up trouble, then I asked you to come over here. I am not in favor of any man usurping power that does not belong to him. I wish to say that there is no man in this committee, there is no man outside of this committee, there is no politician nor any one else who will control me in the appointments that I will make. We have as much intelligence in the Labor party as there is in any other political party, and we should conduct our affairs harmoniously and with judgment. I do not wish to say anything in praise of Mr. Parry or any one else that is not due to them. But we do know that Mr. Parry did good and effective work for the Labor party, and now that three weeks have passed since the election we should not turn him out. I am not run by any man, and no set of men can control me." (Applause.)

Mullally, who had succeeded from the other wing, explained that he had talked with Jack Daughney, who set him right. Wilson, who had been with the majority side, came in and joined the majority. A count showed that seventeen of the twenty-five members of the committee were present.

Daughney reported that a recount had been decided upon. For this \$307 had been already subscribed, and \$600 promised. They would commence the recount with the Supervisors, and be guided by the result whether they would proceed with the other candidates.

J. Crowley said that he had attended all the caucuses of the other faction. The whole object, he said, was to force Mayor-elect Schmitz to give them some of the patronage which they understood was all to be distributed among the Republicans.

The committee adjourned to meet at the call of the chairman.

To Farm Out City Relief.

The newly formed Charity Organization Society in Syracuse, stands ready to do for \$10,000, or, at the utmost, \$15,000, during the year 1902, that for which the city, by its system of outdoor relief, expended \$35,000 during the year now closing, and for which almost \$100,000 was paid out in the year 1900. The Mayor-elect and his administration approve the new society and are desirous that it should undertake practical work for the abolition of outdoor relief in Syracuse.

CHARITIES PROMOTERS.

HOW THEY RAISE FUNDS AND MAKE A LIVING DOING IT.

The Glass Urn Manufacturer's Interest in the Business—The Fake Concert Plan of Raising Funds—Career of a Sharp Woman.

There are some charities that could not exist at all if it were not for the clever activity of the professional promoter. A case typical of the promoter's methods is thus described.

A sentimentalist who is interested in the "rescue" of fallen women and who has given his spare time to this task for some years, conceived the idea that it would be a good thing to found another home, in which employment shall be given to those who have abandoned their "evil" life. He has no funds for this purpose, and his own energies are largely absorbed in raking in profits for himself. At this point, however, he falls in with a lawyer who, for a consideration, agrees to secure incorporation for a society to build the home. Another man is taken into the venture—one who has a business interest in the manufacture of glass urns, such as are deposited in quick-lunch places, drug-stores, saloons, and other places for the collection of funds for "charitable" purposes. The charter obtained, a contract is promptly made with this man to place several thousand urns wherever they will catch the most money, he to have entire supervision of collections, and to retain a commission, turning over what is left to the trustees of the new corporation. The meetings of the trustees are probably few, and the board has no possible check on the amount of the collections. These trustees are friendly, however, to the administration—the administration, of course, being the collector. The latter, though he has no official connection with the society is virtually the whole thing up to this point.

It is not until the advent of a third man, another lawyer, that really active operations begin. He volunteers to take charge of the canvass for funds, and is in tailed in a downtown office building. He professes no sentimental interest in the rescue of fallen women. The religious motives which actuate workers in this field he repudiates. His relation to the enterprise is "rather in the nature of a professional one," as he says. He is to select and drill the collectors, tell them where to go, what to say, what claims to put forth on behalf of the new society, and what objections to urge against existing homes of the same kind. He is to receive their collections, and handle all funds, and this notwithstanding the fact that he is not an officer of the society in any way and has no written or verbal contract with it, because a compact of any kind might prove embarrassing in case of an investigation from outside. He simply works with an abiding faith that the trustees will turn over to him a part of the money which his cunning has brought into the treasury. The canvassers are paid commissions by the lawyers.

The rescue of fallen women, by the way, is a favorite plea of the schemers. Charities with this motive make the strongest appeal to women who have a little money. The concert plan is one often resorted to by the Charity grafter. Tickets for a concert are put on them and they are sent through the mail to wealthy people and those of moderate means with the request that the price of the ticket, generally \$1, be sent by letter. Sometimes young and impressionable women are induced to personally solicit subscriptions or sell tickets. A case in point:

Because no one of the women who had bought tickets for concerts that never took place cared to appear in the West Side Police Court, Mrs. Helen M. De Long was discharged from custody by Magistrate Zeller. Mrs. De Long was arrested and taken before the Seventh District Court on a charge of larceny in selling tickets for a charity concert in Carnegie Hall, December 3, by the Children's Sacred Oratorio Society, for the benefit of the New Home for Homeless Women. The concert was never held.

Dozens of complaints it is said have been made against her. Mrs. De Long represented that she had an office in the United Charities Building a year or more after she left that building. In July, 1900, she collected a fund to take poor women for a day's ride in the bay, and chartered a vessel of the Iron Steamboat Company, tendering in payment a check which came back from the bank marked "worthless." In organizing and exploiting the Women's Industrial Home Society, Mrs. De Long uses the names of Gov. Roosevelt, Lieut-Gov. Odell, Comptroller Coler, and District Attorney Philbin as friends and patrons of the movement. When Roosevelt heard of it and of the woman's record he wrote and demanded that his name be dropped at once, as he had never consented to its use in that connection. As to the others, they had learned from Mrs. De Long of her intention to form a home for the betterment of fallen women, and they had merely said that they hoped she would succeed in her work.

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Salvation Army

Continued from Last Week.

IV.

The "Times," December 20, 1890.

Sir—In discussing Mr. Booth's projects I have hitherto left in the background a distinction which must be kept well in sight by those who wish to form a fair judgment of the influence, for good or evil, of the Salvation Army. Salvationism, the work of "saving souls" by revivalist methods, is one thing; Boothism, the utilization of the workers for the furtherance of Mr. Booth's peculiar projects, is another. Mr. Booth has captured and harnessed with sharp bits and effectual blinkers, a multitude of ultra-Evangelical missionaries of the revivalist school who were wandering at large. It is this skillfully, if somewhat mercilessly, driven team which has dragged the "Generals" coach-load of projects into their present position.

Looking, then, at the host of Salvationists proper, from the "captains" downward (to whom in my judgment, the FAMILY HIERARCHY STANDS IN THE RELATION OF THE OLD MAN OF THE SEA TO SINBAD), as an independent entity, I desire to say that the evidence before me, whether hostile or friendly to the General and his schemes, is distinctly favorable to them. It exhibits them as, in the main, poor, uneducated, not unfrequently fanatical, enthusiasts, the purity of whose lives, the sincerity of whose belief, and the cheerfulness of whose endurance of privation and rough usage, in what they consider a just cause, command sincere respect. For my part, though I conceive the corymbic method of soul-saving to be full of dangers, and though the theological speculations of these good people are to me wholly unacceptable, yet I believe that the evils which must follow in the track of such errors, as of all other errors, will be largely outweighed by the moral and social improvement of the people whom they convert. I would no more raise my voice against them (so long as they abstain from annoying their neighbors) than I would quarrel with a man, vigorously sweeping out a sty, on account of the shape of his broom, or because he made a great noise over his work. I have always had a strong faith in the principle of the injunction, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn." If a kingdom is worth a Mass, as a great ruler said, surely the reign of clean living, industry and thrift is worth any quantity of taborines and eccentric doctrinal hypotheses. All that I have hitherto said, and propose further to say, is directed against Mr. Booth's extremely clever, audacious and hitherto successful attempt to utilize the credit won by all this honest devotion and self-sacrifice for the purposes of his socialistic aristocracy.

I now propose to bring forward a little more evidence as to how things really stand where Mr. Booth's system has had a fair trial. I obtain it, mainly, from a curious pamphlet, the title of which runs:—"The New Papacy." Behind the scenes in the Salvation Army," by an ex-Staff Officer. "Make not my Father's house a house of merchandise." (John 8. 13.) 1890. Published at Toronto, by A. Britnell. On the cover it is stated that "This is the book which was burned by the authorities of the Salvation Army." I remind the reader, once more, that the statements which I shall cite must be regarded as ex parte; all I can vouch for is that, on grounds of internal evidence and from other concurrent testimony respecting the ways of the Booth hierarchy, I feel justified in using them.

This is the picture the writer draws of the army in the early days of its invasion of the Dominion of Canada:

"Then, it will be remembered, it progressed to be the humble handmaid of the existing churches; its professed object was the evangelization of the masses. It repudiated the idea of building up a separate religion, and it denounced the practice of gathering together wealth and the accumulation of property. Men and women other than its own converts gathered around it and shrew themselves heart and soul into the work, for the simple reason that it offered, as they supposed, a more extended and widely open field for evangelic effort. Ministers everywhere were invited and welcomed to its platforms, majors and colonels were few and far between, and the supremacy and power of the General were things unknown. Care was taken to avoid anything like proselytism; its converts were never coerced into joining its ranks. In a word, the organization occupied the position of an auxiliary mission and recruiting agency for the various religious bodies. The meetings were crowded, people professing conversion by the score, the public liberally supplied the means to carry on the work in their respective communities; therefore every corps was wholly self-supporting, its officers were properly, if not luxuriously, cared for, the local expenditure was amply provided, and under the supervision of the secretary, a local member, and the officer in charge, the funds were disbursed in the towns where they were collected, and the spirit of satisfaction and confidence was mutual all around" (pp 4, 5).

Such was the army as the green tree. Now for the dry:

"Those who have been daily conversant with the army's machinery are well aware how entirely and radically the whole system has changed, and how, from a band of devoted and disinterested workers, united in the bonds of zeal and charity for the good of their fellows, it has developed into a colossal and aggressive agency for the building up of a system and a sect, bound by rules and regulations altogether subversive of religious liberty and antagonistic to every (other) branch of Christian endeavor, and bound hand and foot to the will of one supreme head and ruler. As the work has spread through the country, and as the area of its endeavors has enlarged, each leading position has been filled, one after the other, by individuals

strangers to the country, totally ignorant of the sentiments and idiosyncrasies of the Canadian people, trained in one school under the teachings and dominance of a member of the Booth family, and out of whom every idea has been crushed, except that of unquestioning obedience to the General and the absolute necessity of going forward to his bidding without hesitation or question (p. 6).

"What is the result of all this? In the first place, while material prosperity has undoubtedly been attained, spiritualism has been quenched and, as an evangelical agency, the army has become almost a dead letter. In seventy-five per cent. of its stations its officers suffer need and privation, chiefly on account of the heavy taxation that is placed upon them to maintain an imposing headquarters and a large ornamental staff. The whole financial arrangements are carried on by a system of inflation and a hand-to-mouth extravagance and blindness as to future contingencies. Nearly all of its original workers and members have disappeared (p. 7). In reference to the religious bodies at large the army has become entirely antagonistic. Soldiers are forbidden by its rules to attend other places of worship without the permission of their officers. Officers or soldiers who may conscientiously leave the service or the ranks are looked upon and often denounced publicly as backsliders. Means of the most despicable description have been resorted to in order to starve them back to the service (p. 8). In its inner workings the army system is identical with Jesuitism. That the end justifies the means, if not openly taught, is as tacitly agreed as in that celebrated order." (p.9).

Surely, a bitter, overcharged, anonymous libel is the reflection which will occur to many who read these passages, especially the last. Well, I turn to other evidence which, at any rate, is not anonymous. It is contained in a pamphlet entitled, "General Booth, the Family, and the Salvation Army, showing its Rise, Progress, and Moral and Spiritual Decline," by S. H. Hodges, LL. B., late Major in the Army, and formerly private secretary to General Booth (Manchester, 1890). I recommend potential contributors to Mr. Booth's wealth to study this little work also. I have learned a great deal from it. Among other interesting novelties, it tells me that Mr. Booth has discovered "the necessity of a third step or blessing in the work of Salvation." He said to me one day, 'Hodges, you have only two barrels to your gun; I have three' (p. 31). And if Mr. Hodges' description of this third barrel is correct—"giving up your conscience" and "for God and the army stooping to do things which even honorable worldly men would not consent to do" (p. 32)—it is surely calculated to bring down a good many things, the first principles of morality among them.

Mr. Hodges gives some remarkable examples of the army practice with the "General's" new rifle. But I must refer the curious to his instructive pamphlet. The position I am about to take up, is a serious one; and I prefer to fortify it by the help of evidence which, though some of it may be anonymous, cannot be sneered away. And I shall be helped, when I say that nothing but a sense of the great social danger of the spread of Boothism could induce me to revive a scandal, even though it is barely entitled to the benefit of the Statute of Limitations.

On the 7th of July, 1883, you, Sir, did the public a great service by writing a leading article on the notorious "Eagle" case, from which I take the following extract:

"MR. JUSTICE KAY REFUSED THE APPLICATION, BUT HE WAS INDUCED TO REFUSE IT BY MRANS WHIOH, AS MR. JUSTICE STEPHEN JUSTLY REMARKED, WERE HIGHLY DISCREDITABLE TO MR. BOOTH. MR. BOOTH FILED AN AFFIDAVIT WHICH IT APPEARS TOTALLY TO HAVE MISLEAD MR. JUSTICE KAY, AS IT WOULD HAVE MISLEAD ANY ONE WHO REGARDED IT AS A FRANK AND HONEST STATEMENT BY A PROFESSSED TEACHER OF RELIGION."

When I addressed my first letter to you I had never so much as heard of the "Eagle" scandal. But I am thankful that my perception of the inevitable tendency of all religious aristocracies toward evil, was clear enough to bring about provisional condemnation of Mr. Booth's schemes in my mind. Supposing that I had decided the other way, with what sort of feeling should I have faced my friend, when I had to confess that the money had passed into the absolute control of a person, about the character of whose administration this concurrence of damning evidence was already extant?

I have nothing to say about Mr. Booth personally, for I know nothing. On that subject, as on several others, I profess myself an agnostic. But if he is, as he may be, a saint actuated by the purest of motives, he is not the first saint, who, as you have said, has shown himself, "in the ardour of prosecuting a well-meant object" to be capable of overlooking "the plain maxims of everyday morality." If I were a Salvationist soldier, I should cry with Othello, "Cassio, I love thee; but never more be officer of mine."

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
T. H. Huxley.

V.

The "Times," December 24, 1890.

Sir—If I have any strong points, finance is certainly not one of them. But the financial, or rather fiscal, operations of the General of the Salvation Army, as they are set forth and exemplified in "The New Papacy," possess that grand simplicity which is the mark of genius; and even I can comprehend them—or, to be more modest, I can portray them in such a manner that every lineament, however harsh, and every shade, however dark, can be verified by published evidence.

Suppose there is a thriving, expanding colonial town; and that, scattered among its artisans and laborers, there is a sprinkling of Methodists, or other such ultra-Evangelical good people, doing their best, in a quiet way, to "save souls." Clearly, this is an outpost which is desirable to capture. "We," therefore take measures to set up a Salva-

tion "boom" of the ordinary pattern. Enthusiasm is aroused. A score or two of soldiers are enlisted into the ranks of the Salvation Army. "We" select the man who promises to serve our purposes best, make a "captain" of him, and put him in command of the "corps." He is very pleased and grateful; and indeed he ought to be. All he has done is that he has given up his trade; that he has promised to work at least nine ours a day in our service (none of your eight-hour nonsense for us) as collector, bookseller, general agent, and anything else we may order him to be. "We," on the other hand, guarantee him nothing whatever; to do so might weaken his faith and substitute worldly for spiritual ties between us. Knowing that, if he exerts himself in a right spirit, his labors will surely be blessed, we content ourselves with telling him that if, after all expenses are paid and our demands are satisfied each week, 25s. remains, he may take it. And, if nothing remains, he may take that, and stay his stomach with what the faithful may give him. With a certain grim playfulness, we add that the value of these contributions will be reckoned as so much salary. So long as our "captain" is successful, therefore, a beneficent spring of cash trickles unseen into our treasury; when it begins to dry up we say "God bless you, dear boy," turn him adrift with or without 2s. 4d. in his pocket, and put some other willing horse in the shafts.

The "General," I believe proposes, among other things, to do away with "sweating." May he not as well set a good example by beginning at home?

My little sketch, however, looks so like a monstrous caricature that, after all, I must produce the original from the pages of my Canadian authority. He says that a "captain" "has to pay 10 per cent. of all collections and donations to the divisional fund for the support of his divisional officer, who has also the privilege of arranging for such special meetings as he shall think fit, the proceeds of which he takes away for the general needs of the division. Headquarters, too, has the right to hold such special meetings at the corps and send around, such special attractions as its wisdom sees fit, and to take away the proceeds for the purposes it decides upon. He has to pay the rent of his building, either to headquarters or a private individual: he has to send the whole collection of the afternoon meeting of the first Sunday in the month to the 'Extension Fund' at headquarters; he has to pay for the heating, lighting and cleaning of his hall, together with such necessary repairs as may be needed; he has to provide the food, lodging and clothing of his cadet, if he has one; headquarters takes him with so many copies of his army papers each week, for which he has to pay, sold or unsold; and when he has done this, he may take \$6 (or \$5, being a woman), or such proportion of it as may be left, with which to clothe and feed himself and to pay the rent and provide for the heating and lighting of his quarters. If he has a lieutenant he has to pay him \$6 a week, or such portion of it as he himself gets, and share the house expenses with him. Now, it will be easily understood that in at least 60 per cent. of the stations in Canada the officer gets no money at all, and he has to beg specially among his people for his house-rent and food. There are few places in the Dominion in which the soldiers do not find their officers in all the food they need; but it must be remembered that the value of the food so received has to be accounted for at headquarters and entered upon the books of the corps as cash received, the amount being deducted from any moneys that the officer is able to take from the week's collections. So that, no matter how much may be specially given, the officer cannot receive more than the value of \$6 per week. The officer cannot collect any arrears of salary, as each week has to pay its own expenses; and if there is any surplus cash after all demands are met it must be sent to the 'war chest' at headquarters."—"The Papacy" (pp. 35, 36).

Evidently, Sir, "headquarters" has taken to heart the injunction about casting your bread upon the waters. It casts the crumb of a day or two's work of an emissary and gets back any quantity of loaves of cash, so long as "captains" present themselves to be used up and replaced by new victims. What can be said of these devoted poor fellows except, O sancta simplicitas!

But it would be a great mistake to suppose that the money gathering efficacy of Mr. Booth's fiscal agencies is exhausted by the foregoing enumeration of their regular operations. Consider the following edifying history of the "Rescue Home" in Toronto:

"It is a fine building in the heart of the city; the lot cost \$7,000, and a building was put up at a cost of \$7,000 more, and there is a mortgage on it amounting to half the cost of the whole. The land to-day would probably fetch double its original price, and every year enhances its value. . . . In the first five months of its existence this institution received from the public an income of \$1,812.70; out of this \$600 were paid to headquarters for rent, \$500.52 were spent upon the building in various ways, and the balance of \$622.18 paid the salaries of the staff and supported the inmates" (pp. 24, 25).

Said I not truly that Mr. Booth's fisc bears the stamp of genius? Who else could have got the public to buy him a "corner lot," put a building upon it, pay all its working expenses, and then, not content with paying him a heavy rent for the use of the handsome present they had made him, they say not a word against his mortgaging it to half its value? And, so far as any one knows, there is nothing to stop headquarters from selling the whole estate to-morrow and using the money as the "General" may direct.

Once more listen to the author of "The New Papacy," who affirms that "out of the funds given by the Dominion for the evangelization of the people by means of the Salvation Army, one-sixth had been spent in the extension of the Kingdom of God and the other five-sixths had been invested in valuable property, all handed over to Mr. Booth and his heirs and assigns as we have already stated" (p. 26).

And this brings me to the last point upon which I wish to touch. The answer to all inquiries as to what has

we have it, on Mr. Booth's own showing, that every officer of his has undertaken to "obey without questioning or gainsaying the orders from headquarters." And the possible relations of such orders to honor and veracity are demonstrated not only by the judicial deliverance on Mr. Booth's affidavit in the "Eagle" case, which I have already cited, but only by Mr. Bramwell Booth's admission before Mr. Justice Lopes that he had stated what was "not quite correct," because he had "promised Mr. Stead not to divulge" the facts of the case (the "Times," November 4, 1885); but by the following passage in Mr. Hodges' account of the reasons of his withdrawal from the Salvation Army:

"The General and Chief did not and could not deny doing these things; the only question was this, was it right to practice this deception? These points of difference were fully discussed between myself and the Chief of Staff on my withdrawal, especially the Leamington incident, which was the one that finally drove me to decision. I had come to the conclusion, from the first, that they had acted, as they supposed, with a single eye to the good of God's cause, and had persuaded myself that the things were, as against the devil, right to be done; that, as in battle, one party captured and turned the enemy's own guns upon them, so, as they were fighting against the devil, it would be fair to use against him as weapons. And I wrote to this effect to the General" (p. 63).

Now, I do not wish to say anything needlessly harsh, but I ask any prudent man these questions. Could I, under these circumstances, trust any uncorroborated statement emanating from headquarters, or made by the General's order? Had I any reason to doubt the truth of Mr. Hodges' naive confession of the corrupting influence of Mr. Booth's system? And did it not behave me to pick my way carefully through the mass of statements before me, many of them due to people whose moral sense might, by possibility, have been as much blunted by the army discipline in the use of the weapons of the devil as Mr. Hodges affirms this was?

Therefore, in my third letter, I commenced my illustrations of the practical working of Boothism with the evidence of Mr. Redstone, fortified and supplemented by that of a non-Salvationist, Dr. Cunningham Gekkie. That testimony has not been challenged, and until it is I shall assume that it cannot be. In my fourth letter I cited a definite statement by Mr. Hodges in evidence of the Jesuitical principles of headquarters. What sort of answer is it to tell us that Mr. Hodges was dismissed from the army? A child might expect that some such red herring would be drawn across the trail; and, in anticipation of the stale trick, I added the strong prima facie evidence of the trustworthiness of my witness, in this particular, which is afforded by the "Eagle" case. It was not until I wrote my fourth letter to you, Sir—until the exploitation of the "captains" and the Jesuitry of headquarters could be proved up to the hilt—that I ventured to have recourse to "The New Papacy." So far as the pamphlet itself goes, this is an anonymous work; and, for sufficient reasons, I did not choose to go beyond what was to be found between its covers. To any one accustomed to deal with the facts of evolution, the Boothism of "The New Papacy" was merely the natural and necessary development of the Boothism of Mr. Redstone's case and of the "Eagle" case. Therefore, I felt fully justified in using it, at the same time carefully warning my readers that it must be taken with due caution.

Mr. Trotter's useful letter admits that such a book was written by a person with whom he had the "pleasure" of an interview, and that a version of it (interpolated according to his assertion) was published against the will of the author. Hence I am justified in believing that there is a foundation of truth in certain statements, some of which have long been in my possession, but which for lack of Mr. Trotter's valuable corroboration I have refrained from using. The time is come when I can set forth some of the heads of this information, with the request that Mr. Trotter, who knows all about the business, will be so good as to point out any error that there may be in them. I am bound to suppose that his sole object, like mine, is the elucidation of the truth, and to assume his willingness to help me therein to the best of his ability.

1. The author of "The New Papacy" is a Mr. Sumner, a person of perfect respectability and greatly esteemed in Toronto, who held a high position in the Army. When he left, a large public meeting, presided over by a popular Methodist minister, passed a vote of sympathy with him.

Is this true or false?

2. "On Saturday last, about noon, Mr. Sumner, the author of the book, and Fred Perry, the Salvation Army printer, accompanied by a lawyer, went down to Messrs. Imrie and Graham's establishment, and asked for all the manuscript, stereotype plates, etc., of the book. Mr. Sumner explained that the book had been sold to the army, and on a check for the amount due being given, the printing material was delivered up.

Did these paragraphs appear in the "Toronto Telegram" of April 24th, 1890, or did they not? Are the statements they contain true or false?

3. "Public interest in the fate or probable outcome of that mysterious book called 'The New Papacy,' or Behind the Scenes in the Salvation Army,' continues unabated, though the line of proceedings by the publisher and his solicitor, Mr. Smoke of Watson, Thorne, Smoke and Masten, has been altered since yesterday. The book, no doubt, will be issued in some form. So far as known, only one complete copy remains, and the whereabouts of this is a secret which will be profoundly kept. It is safe to say that if the commissioner kept on guessing until the next anniversary, he would not strike the secluded location of the one volume among five thousand which escaped, when he and his assistant, Fred Perry, believed they had cast every vestige of the forbidden work into the fiery furnace. On Tuesday last, when the discovery was made that a copy of 'The New Papacy,' was in evidence, Publisher Britnell of Yonge street, was at once the suspected holder, and in a

short time his book store was the resort of army agents sent to reconnoitre" ("Toronto News," April 28, 1890).

Is this a forgery, or is it not? Is it in substance true or false?

When Mr. Trotter has answered these inquiries categorically, we may proceed to discuss the question of interpolations in Mr. Sumner's book. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
T. H. HUXLEY.

(On the 26th of December a letter, signed J. T. Cunningham, late Fellow of University College, Oxford, called forth the following commentary.
(To be continued.)

SCHWAB-GOMPERS MEDIATION.

Here is a Chance for Them to Demonstrate the Oneness of the Interests of Capital and Labor.

Pittsburg, Dec. 24.—The United States Steel Corporation will at once take steps to reap the fruits of its victory over the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Plate Workers during the great strike of the past summer. After the strike, all the important mills became non-union. In all of these, now that the opposition to labor saving machinery has been overcome, new devices will be introduced, which are expected to result in a great saving, but which at the same time will throw many men out of employment.

The practice of tin-plate plants has changed little in the last twenty-five years, being practically the same as was in vogue in the Welsh mills, a quarter of a century ago. The influence of the Amalgamated Association has prevented the introduction of many inventions for cheapening the rolling of block plate. Soon, however, the American Tin Plate Company will install processes for making block plate, which will be largely automatic. Mills where the association may object will likely be closed or abandoned. The new machinery process will do from two-thirds to three-fourths of the work now done by hand in the hot mills, and the output will be materially increased.

TO SING AWAY CIGARETTES.

Hutchinson to Pit His Voice Against the Tobacco Trust.

Chicago, Dec. 25.—John W. Hutchinson, eighty years old and a millionaire, will soon start on a singing tour of the United States in the interest of the anti-cigarette movement. Mr. Hutchinson, who has a high tenor voice, sang in antebellum days to raise money to free the slaves, and says he is anxious now to save the slaves of the cigarette habit.

Hutchinson will be remembered by old-timers as one of the famous Hutchinson family of singers, who were in their glory forty years ago. There were sixteen in the family, and they were called the "Tribe of Jesse."

Mr. Hutchinson was personally acquainted with and worked for the abolition cause with William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, Henry W. Longfellow and John Greenleaf Whittier.

Mr. Hutchinson founded the town of Hutchinson, Minn., of which he still owns nearly a half interest. Later he founded the town which bears his name in Kansas. He also owns considerable property in Chicago.

Another Worthless "Labor" Law.

In the Dauphin County Court of the first instance, the act against store orders by the Pennsylvania Legislature last year, ostensibly in deference to labor has, as was to be expected, proven defective. The act imposed a tax upon orders, checks, coupons and pass-books representing wages the employers paid in cash when presented, within thirty days. Theoretically, the tax was made heavy enough to prevent resort to such devices. In the suits lately decided the courts took the ground that the act did not apply, in one case, to orders given by employees upon employers, which the employers paid in cash when presented, and in others to the practice of paying employees with envelopes containing the cash balance obtained after deducting certain items from the gross earnings for a given time. Pennsylvania already has a law requiring the semi-monthly payment of wages in lawful money, which many believed ample against subterfuges of this character.

PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, its Convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American Republic, we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, liberty, and of happiness.

With the founders of this Republic, we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the subject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. One of our chiefest and fundamental demands is that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We therefore demand that the workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of lawless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

Trades & Societies' Directory

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P. The County Committee, representing the Section meets every Sunday, 10 a. m., in hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 78 Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J. 435

SECTION AKRON, OHIO, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday, at 2 p. m., at Kramer's Hall, 167 S. Howard st. Organizer, J. Koylin, 307 Barges st.

THE NEW JERSEY STATE COMMITTEE, S. L. P., meets 1st Thursday of the month, 8 p. m., at 78 Springfield ave., Newark. Cor. Sec. Louis Cohen, 10 Everett st., East Orange, N. J. Fin. Sec. A. P. Wittel, 60 Peachtree ave., Newark, N. J.

WAITERS' ALLIANCE "LIBERTY." No. 19, S. T. & L. A. Office 257 E. Houston st. Telephone call, 2321 Spring. Meets every Thursday, 3 p. m. 480

NEW YORK MACHINISTS' LOCAL 274, S. T. & L. A., meets every 1st and 3rd Tuesdays at 8 p. m., at 2 to 4 New Read street. Secretary K. Wallberg. 408

SECTION HARTFORD, S. L. P., meets every Wednesday, 8 p. m., at S. L. P. Hall, 892 Main street.

S. T. & L. A. LOCAL NO. 307, meets second Thursday at above hall. Visitors are welcome.

SCANDINAVIAN SECTION, S. L. P., Branch 1, meets 2nd and 4th Sunday or month at 10 o'clock, a. m., at 235 E. 38th street. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist weekly, "Arbetearen." 429

SCANDINAVIAN SECTION, Branch 2, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday of month, at 3 p. m., at Linnea Hall, 319 Atlantic avenue, Brooklyn. 453

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY CLUB, 14th Assembly District. Business meetings every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., at Club rooms, southwest corner of 11th street and First avenue. Pool parlor open every evening.

LOCAL ALLIANCE, 282, of the S. T. & L. A. (Swedish Machinists), meets every second and fourth Friday of the month at 8 p. m., at Cosmopolitan Park, corner of Sixth avenue and Thirteenth street, Newark N. J.

SECTION LOS ANGELES, S. L. P., Headquarters and free reading room, 205 1/2 South Main street. Public meetings every Sunday, 2 p. m., Foresters' Temple, 120 1/2 W. First street, corner Spring. 435

NEW HAVEN, CONN., SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY meets every second and fourth Friday, 8 p. m., S. L. P. headquarters, 853 Grand avenue, Westville Branch meets every third Tuesday at St. Joseph's Hall. Visitors welcome.

SECTION CLEVELAND, OHIO, S. L. P. holds public agitation meetings every Sunday afternoon at 2.30 o'clock at 356 Ontario street, top floor.

HEADQUARTERS SECTION SOMERVILLE, S. L. P., 437 Somerville avenue, Somerville, Mass., will be open every evening and all day Sundays. Papers and books on Socialism for sale. Free reading room.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Section Erie Co., S. L. P., meets 1st and 3d Saturday, 8 p. m., in Florence Parlors, 527 Main, near Genesee st. Everybody welcome. Open-air meetings every Sunday evening, cor. Main and Church sts.

PIONEER MIXED ALLIANCE, L. A. 345, S. T. & L. A., meets every Tuesday, 8 p. m., at headquarters, 119 Eddy st., San Francisco, Cal. Free reading room. Visitors are welcome.

SECTION CHICAGO, ILL., S. L. P., holds public agitation meetings every Sunday, 3 p. m., at 106 E. Randolph St., 2d floor. Questions and discussion invited. Admission free.

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OPPORTUNISM.

What it is; What it seeks to Conceal and What it is After.

San Francisco, Cal., Dec. 18.—A certain portion of the Socialist press is as usual merrily engaged in vilifying the agitation and talking with unctious of "evolution," "extremists," and "moderates." The inference is that the agitator is a crude and untamed person, who must by some means or other eventually grow and ripen into a mild-mannered and inoffensive possiblist.

This doctrine is merely the glorification of opportunism, and really teaches nothing. For if it is intended thereby to recommend opportunism as a policy, the argument is vitiated by the easily demonstrable fact that the opportunist is never victorious. Though apparently in control he is never so in reality, but is impelled and governed by the extreme radical element, which, with ever active force, is always pressing relentlessly at his heels. History bears plain testimony to the truth of these statements. It is impossible to escape the extreme left. This faction sways and dominates by the intensity of its faith, the inflexibility of its purpose, and its ever renewed recruits of young and eager apostles. Take the Jacobins of the French Revolution and complain as you may of their excesses and even of their absurdities you are yet forced to acknowledge the logic of their general position. Bonaparte's whiff of grapeshot, the restoration of the Bourbons, the apparent victory of reaction are but checks. Jacobinism was buried only to enjoy a glorious resurrection; the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 are the stones rolled away from its sepulchre.

Do we find in the present condition of the Socialist movement that general development towards a moderate political attitude which the journals referred to appear to consider reasonable?

We find that in France and Germany there are very large parties of Socialists, strong, well-organized, and influential. We find also that these parties are not engaged in what can be called strictly socialistic work. They rather take the place of the ordinary radical minority and share in the discussion of practical measures and the setting up and pulling down of ministries. We find that in France at all events one man who has been influential in Socialistic circles is at present a member of the Ministry. The inference is that the Socialists have abandoned the revolutionary campaign and have gone into politics. And this is to a certain extent true but only to a limited extent. Clericalism and militarism are the two most immediately formidable antagonists of the radical movement in France at the present time. By a skillful manipulation of policy, a certain division of the Socialist movement has succeeded in attaching to itself those non-Socialist elements which are opposed to these two institutions. We err therefore when we say that French Socialism is becoming liberalized. What we see is not the moderating of French Socialism proper but the political tactics of liberals acting by and through a badly drilled Socialist Party, and hence arises confusion, for the party which is thus nominally Socialist has in reality no intellectual grasp of the idea. Hence there is no real element of cohesion in the French Socialist movement and the irreconcilability of the representative French Socialism which counts among its exponents such men as Vaillant, Guesde and Lafargue, with the party of compromise may be termed absolute.

The same phenomenon in a less advanced state of development is observable in Germany. Now that Liebknecht is gone and Babel is an old man the young middle-class movement will probably gain a position in the party which as yet they have not reached. But though they may succeed in grafting a form of liberalism upon the party for a time they cannot destroy the proletarian, and the proletarian element is bound in the long run to be the dominating force in the Socialist movement. While political reforms are to be carried out as distinguished from social reconstruction reforms will naturally accomplish the work, and the middle-class is the predestined destroyer of the remnants of feudalism, always supposing that the proletarian does not dominate the situation by a sudden access of revolutionary fury and make a complete of the middle-class attachments of the party.

What we see in France and Germany, then, is not a united and an undivided Socialist movement going steadily and firmly to a destined end. We see simply the result of shrewd politics which has ranged under the banner of the Socialist Republic large bodies of men who are interested only in gaining some immediate end. If we say therefore that the Socialist Parties of France and Germany are large and influential, we mean that they have a certain political influence, but, and this is well worth noting, not IMMEDIATELY IN THE DIRECTION OF SOCIALISM.

But they are not therefore to be underrated on that account, for they carry within their masses the core of the greater growth. Thus when Liebknecht, according to Bernhard Shaw covers every compromise with the cry that the Socialists never compromise, Liebknecht stated the entire truth, a truth which Shaw was unable to perceive, for with all his ability, Shaw is most successful in the making of epigrams. He would infinitely prefer to discover a paradox than to investigate a truth, a trait which makes him essentially whimsical and unsafe. The proletarian element which is the all-determining element in a Socialist movement, never compromises, never can compromise. There is all the difference imaginable between a party, like the liberal party, which removes obstacles one by one, calculating each removal as an end in itself, and like the Socialist Party, which sets a definite end before it and removes obstacles merely as incidental to the main purpose of the journey and to expedite its march.

These European parties are engaged in the playing of giants of which we have long ago disposed.

This brings us to the real purpose of this article, which is intended to deal primarily with the present position of

Socialism in the United States.

Here instead of the strong and all powerful parties of the older countries we have a set of factions, struggling and contending, insignificant in numbers, torn by strife, impotent in legislation and feeble at the polls. All this may be admitted and yet in spite of it, one is driven to the conclusion that the immediate chances of the advance of Socialism along its peculiar, and what is generally termed its scientific path, are better here than in any other country in the world.

Here if anywhere the agitator is vindicated, and the opportunist must give ground to the extremist, for directly the political fight is begun it will be discovered that the subjects of proposed legislation are not of such a nature as to admit of a compromise but are in their very essence such as lead to a clash of interests so essentially diverse, so mutually exclusive and antithetical, that only the distinct victory of one or other of the opposing forces can terminate the strife. Of course no such fight is possible until the Socialists have succeeded in making themselves a political force, until they have compact groups in the various legislative bodies, until, in fact, they have succeeded in establishing an extreme left in American politics.

The fight which is now going on in the ranks of the collectivists of this country is a fight as to what shall be the governing principles of that extreme left, the basis on which it shall work, what shall be its resources, politically, and in accordance with what ideas its actions are to be regulated. This is the point of dispute. The question is no longer "Socialist or non-Socialist." It is rather what kind of Socialist. The fight has been precipitated by the tremendous amount of latent Socialism which is not yet fully developed into a conscious and concrete form among the masses of the people of this country but which must be forced by economic conditions to show itself in the near future.

To refer to the statement that Socialism stands a better chance of development here than elsewhere, it will be necessary to furnish some evidence upon which that belief is based.

Benjamin Kidd in his Social Evolution cites Marx as authority for the statement that England is the best country in which to examine social phenomena in accordance with the modern spirit. But here, as in many other places, he is mistaken. Marx certainly took England as the typical capitalist country, as it undoubtedly was at the time of his writing, and the country best suited for the study of capitalist methods of production and distribution, because the system had there preceded with fewer impediments, governmental and otherwise, than in other European countries. But since that time the United States has bounded from the domestic or manufacturing system, properly so-called, to a most highly organized and fully developed capitalist system. Here capital has the fullest possible swing free from all interference. Here it enjoys not only liberty from restraint but an actual legislative influence which is unknown to it even in the country where the system first originated.

Kidd says: "The social question in America is in all essential respects the same question as in any other part of our western civilization. It is probable that nowhere else will the spirit which is behind socialism measure itself with greater freedom from disturbing influences against certain opposing forces which are the product of our modern free communities, than in that country . . . yet the special conditions of newness which are present largely interfere to prevent the essential character of the social, as a phase of orderly development from being so clearly distinguished in the United States and therefore from being so thoroughly studied as elsewhere."

This does not appear to be good reasoning. As a matter of fact the United States is the very best country at the present day to study the workings of the capitalist system. The great mass of legislative work which has engaged the attention of the Liberal Party so long is not necessary here. There is no aristocratic class to preserve traditions of feudal relations, which might mitigate to some extent the terrible pressure under which labor is carried on in the present system. There is only one bond between the employer and the employed, a bond which is cynically and openly admitted—the cash nexus. Capital is not tied up in the great fixed plants which are so numerous in old communities, and hence has greater mobility, start can be made from the beginning more readily and the irritated condition which arise from sudden changes, the incessant improvement in methods of production, and the uncertainty which is one of the distinguished marks of the present system, causing mental anguish, as well as actual physical want, from the instability of the labor market are very marked characteristics of American economic life.

There is also a much greater intensity of labor in this country, as is shown by the greater per capita production. All these are facts which tend to show that here we may expect to see the most radical reaction against existing conditions. We should expect to find that here class antagonisms would be stronger and that here, if anywhere, the feeling engendered by conditions would be particularly bitter. And the labor struggles in this country during the last ten years show that the facts are as we should have expected. Where else has such fierce conflict taken place as has been manifested by the succession of great and bloody strikes which this country has witnessed, local struggles which resemble rather the conflicts between rival factions in the middle ages than the legal and well-regulated contests which we should expect to find in a modern democracy.

The annihilation of pre-existing national distinctions, the absolute destruction of all the old barriers between creeds and the general mowing of all local customs and peculiarities are the fruits of the capitalist system at its best. The antagonisms and antitheses which are to be expected, which are upon the full play of which progress and the substitution of the new for the old depend, must, and indeed do, make themselves felt to a degree which is not yet experienced elsewhere.

Mr. Kidd was either not aware of these facts which must be patent or he ignored them as telling against the main thesis of his book—the development of a humane spirit destined to settle everything in the best possible way.

Such being the conditions which dominate American society, the essential features of its economic structure, let us note the effect upon the movement as it appears in the fighting organizations of the workers. The first striking fact is the entire absence of anything like cultured or middle class support. That is to say that the majority of the intellectual and middle class adherents of the Socialist movement are not conspicuous for their ability or success, but are rather the bankrupts and failures of their own class. In this respect it is easy to institute comparisons with other countries. Take the case of Italy: here is a country in which the franchise is exceedingly restricted and where the standard of education is exceedingly low, more than 50 per cent. of the population being illiterate. Italy returns some sixteen Socialist members of Parliament. We find in its parliamentary delegation four university professors, two great lawyers, one scientist, and several accomplished journalists and literary men. An examination of this list would tempt the unobservant to conclude that the intellectual standing of the Italian movement was very high. But behind these delegates are the terrible masses of illiterate, church-ridden, and army-laden workmen. Far from being a sign of the intellectual standing of Italian Socialism the facts are proof of its degradation. These delegates will never have any real work to do for Socialism. Their whole lives will be spent in gaining elementary reforms for the only alternative to such reforms is the sudden insurrection of an ignorant populace with no definite objective, a state of things which cannot be contemplated with equanimity. In fact Lombroso in a recent article practically admits the truth of this view. The laboring population which cannot send intelligent delegates of its own class to look after its own interests is by no means ripe for the control of a state.

The middle classes in America may be eliminated as a factor in the solution of the problem from the standpoint of the scientific Socialist. We must look for nothing but the most implacable and vindictive opposition from the middle classes, for they will by no means give up what, after all, alone constitutes the value of life to them without an exceedingly bitter struggle. We have not in this country even the doubtful chance that the landed interests may play against the commercial interests for the sake of immediate gain, for landholding here is admittedly a form of commercialism and the barriers which the continuance of a surviving feudal class maintains between two sections of the governing class does not exist here.

The next class, and one from which many Socialists expect much, is what may be termed the lower middle class. This is a falling class, one which is losing its small possessions and constitutes the sinking class in this country. It has hitherto been a kind of haven for all the class still lower in the economic scale, the proletarian. The successful workman had as his ambition the building and maintenance of a home, the establishment of a little business with himself as proprietor and exploiter on a small scale, and the finding of a secure position in an upper stratum after a period of toil as the practical slave of others. The hoarding of his pecuniary to purchase his immunity from the dictatorship of the employer, he was to be his own master.

This class has latterly, however, suffered severe reverses, hence it is essentially the source of the reform party in America politics. Its demands have loaded the platform of the Democratic party with panaceas. The palmy days of this class were in the period preceding the Civil war, hence it clamors loudly for the retention of the older institutions, it is insistent upon the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Monroe Doctrine and becomes frantic with regard to what it denominates Government by Injunction. It is unable to see that times have changed, that the old landmarks are becoming fast obliterated, that the staunch craft which the fathers built to weather all storms is dragging its anchor and being carried down the irresistible stream of social evolution. Material conditions are too strong for the members of this class they must succumb.

Now, some Socialists are of the opinion that this class can be utilized for the purposes of the movement, that it may furnish voting material and may, in some cases, provide leaders and thinkers for the masses. Such an anticipation appears to be entirely without logical foundations. No revolution was ever effected by a decaying class and, woe the pill as you may, Socialism is neither more nor less than a revolution.

Here a protest should be entered against the dishonesty of those people who, in order to gain an immediate support, endeavor to minimize the importance of the Socialist movement. To do so is not only to be dishonest, it is like all dishonesty, self-destructive. The whole mass of our reasoning is based upon a revolutionary foundation. Tamper with that and the edifice comes tumbling about your ears. If ever a falling class had an opportunity to save itself, it was the Roman farmer class at the time of the establishment of the plutocracy and the employment of slave labor upon a large scale. It had able leaders, traditions and strong political influence, but it failed and how completely history shows clearly enough.

The only way in which this class could be of any assistance to the Socialist movement would be by votes, and its vote is a wavering and uncertain quantity. It cannot furnish the intellectual or moral force necessary for the continual struggle, it has not the economic insight necessary for legislation and, what is more, it is absolutely devoid of sympathy with the proletarian. The lower middle class is an exploiting class, it is harder to its employees than even inherent in every human system and the capitalist proper, as the small retailer trader, it is practiced in the arts of

(Continued on page 5.)

TORONTO S. L. P.

Its Manifesto, in the Present Municipal Campaign.

Toronto, Can., Dec. 27.—With Charles C. Woodley as its candidate for Mayor for the election that takes place on January 6, 1902, the Socialist Labor Party of Toronto has issued a manifesto to the wage slaves of the city. The entire capitalist press of the city greeted the appearance of the S. L. P. in the political arena with a spontaneous outburst of silence. Here is the manifesto:

The Socialist Labor Party, conscious of the justice and grandeur of its cause, and assured of final victory, re-enters the municipal arena with Charles C. Woodley as its candidate for Mayor.

Again we assert that Labor, the producer of wealth, is entitled to all it produces. Again we point out the fact that the wage working class is fleeced by the capitalist class through private ownership of the means of production. Again we call on the wage workers to end that robbery by making the means of production the common property of the people.

Wage workers, will you continue to vote for lower taxes for the property owners, or cheap power for the manufacturers, or changes in the form of administration for the benefit of wire pullers? Will you continue to vote that others shall be benefited, while you, whose needs are more pressing, shall be ignored?

Low taxes will not benefit those who work for wages. Though the landlord's taxes may be lowered, yet the worker's rent may be increased. Though the capitalist employer's taxes may be lowered, yet the worker's wages may be reduced.

Nor need the workers agitate for cheap power when they own no machinery. Nor need they worry about the form of administration when the administration is controlled by capitalists and will never pass a measure in the interest of wage workers.

Let us as wage workers

Guard Our Own Interests.

To-day there exists a government of capitalists, by capitalists and for capitalists. Let us vote for a government of workers, by workers and for workers.

To-day we toil for others—let us toil for ourselves.

To-day our livelihood is uncertain—let us make it secure.

To-day we work for wages (which is only a small portion of the wealth we produce)—let us vote to gain the full product of our labor.

To-day men are driven to crime, women are driven to shame, and children are driven to the factory by the insatiable greed of those who own the means of production. Let us vote to make the means of production the common property of the people—and give every man and woman a chance to gain an honorable living—give every child a chance to get an education.

To-day we wage workers are largely disfranchised by tenancy and property qualifications. Let us elect men who will battle for political equality.

Wage workers, show the shyster politicians by your vote that you are tired of "mock" attacks on corporations. Show them by your vote that they can no longer deceive you by false issues.

Show your capitalist exploiters by your vote that you want no more of their oppression. Show them by your vote that their anarchistic disregard for life and rights must cease.

We recognize that the election of a single individual will not be sufficient to achieve our object. A majority of the aldermen must be elected. More than that, a majority of the Provincial Assembly, and of the Dominion Parliament must be elected as well. But, while a single representative cannot initiate our platform, yet he can do much to advance its success by intelligent criticism in the Council the measures that are discussed from time to time, by combatting measures that are injurious to the workers, and by keeping in the forefront the principle of common ownership of the means of production—the principle upon the success of which depends the comfort, the health and the happiness of the wage workers.

Sham Public Ownership.

There is a form of public ownership advocated by tricky politicians, and supported by some freak reformers, against which a word of warning must be uttered. It is a form of public ownership for the benefit of the propertied—the capitalist—class. Those freaks and politicians advocate, for instance, public ownership of the Telephone System for the purpose of reducing the price of telephones. Now, wage workers, who do not rest telephones, would not be benefited by a reduction in the price. Those same freaks and politicians also advocate, for instance, that the Street Railway or the Gas Plant be operated by the city, and that the revenue so derived be used to reduce taxes. Now, a reduction in the tax rate, as has already been shown, would not benefit wage workers. We pay rent that is always as high as a landlord capitalist can extort. We receive wages that are always as low as the employing capitalist can grind them. It does not follow that if taxes were lowered that rent would be lowered, or that wages would be increased. Let us strive, not for a form of public ownership that will reduce taxes, but for a form of common ownership that will benefit wage workers—common ownership for the purpose of increasing the return to those who operate the Telephone System—common ownership of the Street Railway System for the purpose of increasing the return to the workers of the Street Railway System—common ownership of all the other industries for the purpose of increasing the return to the workers in those industries.

Fellow workers, the Socialist Labor Party places its platform before you. It does not appeal for mere votes. If you do not believe in its principles do not support its candidates.

Meetings of the Socialist Labor Party are held every Sunday afternoon, at 3, in Richmond Hall, Richmond street west.

National Executive Committee—F. J.

Darch, secretary, No. 119 Dundas street, London, Ont.

Official Organ—The Daily PEOPLE, \$3.50 per year. Weekly PEOPLE, 50c per year. Address, Nos. 2, 4 and 6 New Reade street, New York City, U. S. Toronto Agent: Charles A. V. Kemp, No. 206 Chestnut street.

Why No Union Label—The reason that no Union Label appears on this Manifesto is because of the fact that the Union Label is a useless weapon with which to fight the capitalist, and also because of the corrupt use to which many labels of different trades are put by labor fakirs who permit their use to manufacturers for their own benefit. And we furthermore denounce the misleaders in the trade union movement who cry, "No politics in the union," yet at election time are found on the Grit or Tory platforms.

BORING FROM WITHOUT.

(Continued from page 1.)

the heat and fire of intelligent discussion, instead of by the summary punishment of those in error, and

Whereas, it has been the policy of the present Socialist Party, and of the former parties, which have given birth to it, not to follow the methods formerly in vogue, in removing officers and "disciplining" members on slight provocation, but to resort to measures of removal or expulsion only in extreme cases, such as deliberate betrayal of the Party, and

Whereas, such policy has been proven by experience to be the wisest and safest for a growing Socialist Party,

Be it therefore Resolved, That the resignation of Comrade L. E. Hildebrand, as treasurer of this Club be not accepted, and that in our opinion the action of the 16th Ward Club was hasty and ill-advised and not in accordance with the policy of the Party.

Be it further Resolved, That the following be declared as the sense of this meeting upon the subject in controversy: That it is unwise for any labor organizations to encourage or assist any agitation in favor of the enactment of "public ownership" laws by legislative bodies controlled by capitalist parties, for the following reasons:

(1) Even though the petitions, demands or resolutions of the said labor organizations contain most explicit declarations that public ownership be for the benefit of the working class, if it does not, will inaugurate public ownership for the benefit of the capitalist class instead, and will take advantage of the prevailing ignorance as to the distinction between capitalist public ownership and Socialism to hold up the agitation of the labor organizations as an endorsement of their action.

(2) That such agitation, or appeals to or demands of legislative bodies controlled by capitalist parties tends to confuse the minds of the workmen as to the class struggle and as to the method by which, according to the teachings of scientific Socialism, they are destined to achieve their own complete emancipation.

(3) The greatest danger to Socialism is that the capitalist class will, upon observing its increasing strength, attempt to defeat the rise of the Social Revolution by instituting a compromise, or a form of State capitalism, while they are still in power, and such agitation helps to pave the way for such a strategic move by the capitalist class.

[Needless to say that the above, together with all the documents therein referred to, and the originals of all of which are for inspection in this office, are authentic. The S. L. P. does not deal in forgeries.—Ed. THE PEOPLE.]

A "PROSPEROUS" YEAR.

Capitalism Reaps a Gigantic Harvest from Labor's Toil.

The first year of the new century has been a prosperous one for capitalists. It is glutted with wealth, and wealth-getting went on without interruption, even when the head of the capitalist nation was stricken down; it went on through stock panics and strikes.

That this flood tide of prosperity has been felt by the capitalist class in all branches of trade is shown by the annual review of trade, finance and industry prepared by "Bradstreet's" and made public yesterday. One of the sharpest stock panics in the history of Wall street was not sufficient to check in any noticeable degree trading in stocks whose bulk is truly appalling. Larger outputs of coal, iron ore, steel, lumber and leather have been insufficient to meet the great demand, and the transportation facilities of the country have been strained to the utmost. To crown all has come the unequalled holiday trade of the last month.

The clearinghouse figures will foot up this year one-fourth higher than the record of any previous year. This is the opinion of the conservative bankers who estimate the total of \$118,000,000,000, a gain of 38 per cent. over last year, and of 26 per cent. over the record year of 1899. Of all the sections of the land the Middle States showed the greatest gain in clearings.

But it is not only the clearing house records that are smashed. Pig iron production, it is estimated, will be one-seventh larger than the heaviest ever before recorded. Gross railway earnings have increased 12 per cent., and net returns 16 per cent. over the best preceding year. In the anthracite coal fields production will be fully 10 per cent. larger than last and 5 per cent. than the record. As heavy a gain, it is said, will be recorded in bituminous. Iron ore products and shipments were never before equalled, and lake shipments never bulked so large. The cost of raw material has helped the woolen manufacture, and the demand for clothing has been exceptionally good.

According to exporters, after years of steady advance, signs of hesitancy have been noted in the export trade, but imports have increased. Yet this increase, it is said, has been mainly in materials for domestic manufacture, and the margin in exports is heavily in favor of this country.

.....NEWS FROM.....

THE FIELD OF LABOR

The English Industrial Revolution.

In England there is a revolution going on that is greatly affecting the working class of that country. This revolution is industrial in character and consists largely in the modernization of English plants and methods. By this is meant, the transformation of the English industrial system in accordance with American ideas and on the lines followed by American capitalists. This revolution involves the trust system of production en masse, the introduction of labor-displacing machinery and the destruction of trades-unionism on an extensive scale. It requires a new sub-division of labor, admitting of the employment of the cheap labor of women and children, and a new system of technical instruction, permitting the easy introduction of large numbers of youths and boys into industry. This revolution is said by the capitalists of England to be absolutely necessary to the preservation of England's present industrial position. England must either depart from fossilized customs or suffer industrial decadence. The competition of Germany and America must be met and successfully overcome by new and superior organization and methods or else England is lost.

The probable effects of this revolution is viewed with horror by the members of the English working class. In many places they have instinctively, though reactively, combated it, but without success. To them the revolution means idleness and hunger, intensified labor and low wages, the loss of the right of association and the manifold evils that arise from a debased and degraded standard of living.

As an instance of what this modernization means take the consolidation of Guest, Keen & Company, Limited, Bolckow, Vaughn & Company, Limited and the Cossett Iron Company, three English corporations. These plants will be modernized according to plans drawn in this country, after the best models in the Pittsburgh iron district, with such improvements as may be suggested. Much of the machinery to be used will be made in this country. American engineers will supervise the work of transforming the plants, which, when completed will be the largest in Great Britain. \$5,000,000 is the estimated cost of the change, but other improvements may be made that will add millions more to the expenditures.

In connection with this modernization there is a marked tendency to conduct large plants with non-union labor. The big engineering firm of Dick Kerr & Company, operates its two great factories at Preston, built by Americans and run by American engineers, on "free" labor lines. It is declared that they have discarded "the limitations of British trades-unionism,"—which does not seem to be able to do anything to rectify the matter.

In the hopelessness of its outlook, the English working class has steadily combated this modernization. They have fought the introduction of labor-displacing machinery when and wherever possible.

A notable demonstration against the further use of machinery in the boot trade was recently made at Raunds, one of the largest Northamptonshire shoe manufacturing villages. There a firm of army contractors introduced a latest plant. Three men were obtained from Kettering to operate the machines but were met at the station by a crowd of 200 and induced to return by the next train. Demonstrations were continued in front of the various factories and one of the army contractors referred to was stoned. Meanwhile the lasting plant is idle. The shoe employers, however, hope, in the course of time, to secure enough "free" labor, i. e. labor not organized into trades-unions, to overcome these anti-machinery demonstrations.

The same opposition is manifested against the employment of women and children where the use of machinery will permit it. In the Birmingham tin-plate trade, presses were constructed that enabled women to do stamping. In the course of time they were also placed at soldering and then riveting, the capitalists finding them neater and cheaper at those branches of tin-plate manufacture. In the case of one manufacturer of lanterns the union protested that the women were performing parts of the processes that should be left for the men, they also demanded the restriction of the number of boys employed by one-half. After much arguments on both sides, the firm discharged all of its help, taking back only such as would work under "free" conditions. In the course of time this firm discovered that the entire lantern could be made by women and boys, so they dispensed altogether with the men. As the women get 14s. or 15s. a week in place of 35s. or 40s. formerly paid to the men, this blow to English trades-unionism is great.

Another case of the same kind was that of a manufacturer of bicycle lamps. He acceded to the trades-union demands regarding women and children, but so rearranged his works as to dispense with the men entirely, after a brief period. Other instances of a similar character, illustrating the complete breakdown of the tin-plate trade unions in its opposition to women and children might be cited.

The Gunsmiths' Union was no more fortunate in its attempts to prevent the creation of schools for the technical instruction of youths and boys in the art of making guns. The capitalists introduced a bill into Parliament permitting them to expend certain accumulated funds amounting to £20,000, for this purpose.

The opposition of the Gunsmiths' Union caused the bill to be dropped, but the gunmaking capitalists did not desist. They declared that under a

.....NEWS FROM.....

THE FIELD OF CAPITAL

Exports and Imports.

The figures for exports and imports for November are causing the capitalist editorial writers some anxiety. They see in them a contraction in the world's markets during the past year, a contraction which they regard as evidence of declining consumption. What the cause of this decline is, "deponent saith not," for that would reveal the robbery of the working class, the taking of surplus value in the form of withheld wages or profits.

The figures referred to are interesting. They show that Germany, England and America are about equally affected. Exports from Germany in November, which are returned by weight instead of value decreased 60,130 tons, as compared with last year. The British Board of Trade reported for the same month a decrease in export values of \$8,900,000. American trade results were more favorable, the total exports falling slightly below those of November, 1900. Considering that America is the dominant commercial country, this fact becomes significant indeed.

The matter of imports are more significant. In Germany during November imports fell off 465,500 tons and in Great Britain \$14,600,000, while American imports increased but \$7,000,000 over a year ago.

The editorial writers mentioned see in these figures a source of great comfort. These figures show, according to them, that the buying power of the United States has increased, while the country is holding its own in the world's commerce. They fail to perceive that if this country does not do more than hold its own—if it cannot increase its outlet in proportion to its increased production—its buying power will decline eventually and terrifically.

It is believed by the capitalist editorial writers that the export figures for this country for the year will differ but little from those of 1900. There is no rejoicing over this fact. And there is no reason that there should be. It is a bad symptom.

Production under American capitalism proceeds with leaps and bounds. Distribution or consumption must proceed likewise or else there is stoppage and stoppage means panic—ruin. Under a capitalism like that of this country a stationary amount of exports shows that production and distribution do not keep a proportionate pace. Why then rejoice?

In connection with the figures on exports it is stated that though they show a decrease in value, there has been an increase in quantity. Considering that the capitalists of all nations follow the rule of selling cheaper in foreign than in domestic markets, in order to keep their mills going, this increase in export quantities indicates a greater necessity of getting rid of surplus production. It indicates a condition in which profits must be disposed of at any price in order to keep the wheels of industry moving. But the wheels of industry cannot go on forever under such conditions. There comes a time when production is so great that sales cannot be effected no matter how low the price. Stagnation, with its attendant evils sets in once more, as a logical consequence.

Capitalism, despite its years of "prosperity" will have its years of panics and there will finally bring about its downfall and end.

former act of Parliament they were empowered to spend the funds mentioned in the interests of the gun-making industry. Classes were accordingly begun and are now being taught.

This defeat can be best understood by the declaration of the Gunsmiths' Union that the gunmaking capitalists aimed at flooding the trade with workmen to the disadvantage of those employed in it. The Gunsmiths' Union contended that practical teaching could best be given in the workshops, but as they were in control there through the system regulating apprentices, the gun-making capitalists did not see it in that light.

English trades-unionism has suffered another blow in the creation of sick and death benefit funds under the direction of capitalists. The Great Eastern Railroad is extending the operations of its provident fund to the detriment of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Engineers. This is energetically and truly protested against as an attempt to fasten the chains of slavery still closer about the workers. The compulsory introduction will eventually deprive the English trades-union of one of its most powerful and influential means of keeping the working class together.

The industrial revolution through which England is now passing will in the course of time react upon the industrial nations of the world. It will compel a similar modification in their systems, for eternal industrial progress is the price of industrial supremacy. Industrial changes are accompanied by widespread suffering on the part of the working class. England only illustrates this now, but America did it also prior to the present decade, during the transition from the middle-class to the trust production. That the modernization of England will react upon Germany and America, and that the sufferings of the working class in both countries will be intensified as a result, experience and history prove beyond doubt.

There is only one system by which industrial change is possible without widespread suffering to the working class: that is the Socialist system. Under such a system the wealth now accruing to the capitalist class from industrial progress would go to the working class, to be devoted to their welfare and their progress. On then to Socialism and the Socialist Republic!

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888..... 2,069
in 1892..... 21,157
in 1896..... 86,564
in 1900..... 34,191



Unfair as he finds it to spur on the industrial capitalists, by depriving their bread of its butter, yet the capitalist thinks it necessary to reduce the laborer's wages to a minimum in order "to keep him industrious."

MARX.

HANNA'S CRY OF RELIEF.

It would seem utterly superfluous the statement made by Mark Hanna, President of the Arbitration and Conciliation Committee, that he was no "novice in this business." Everybody knows that. It is well known that Hanna is an expert at manipulating labor fakirs, and thereby controlling the "Organized Labor" that these preside over. Why then utter those words?

It must be remembered that it was Hanna who styled the labor fakirs in his line of business his "Labor-Lieutenants." That in itself was a brazen act. It was giving away a secret. Now no one gives away a secret unless secrecy on the matter is of no further value. That act of Hanna's helps explain his more recent one. It is the utterance that escaped a man who feels he has completed a certain work, at least brought it to a safe stage of perfection from which there is no danger of relapse. It is the kind of remark that may have escaped the mouse that may have succeeded in belling the cat. In short, it is a cry of relief. Hanna imagines he has now belled the cat of the Labor Movement by having bagged so conspicuously the labor fakirs, from Gompers down, who, he supposes, own that Movement. Hanna will find his cry of relief premature. You cannot buy from the few what belongs to the many. All the fakirs combined do not form but a trifling fraction of a fraction of the Labor Movement. They are a trifling fraction even of their own particular branch of pure and simpledom. The rank and file form the overwhelming majority. The sell-out by the few of what belongs to the many in this instance has been done in such a conspicuous manner that proves the justice of Hanna's statement: "I am no novice in this business." The sell-out is glaring. The adept overdid himself. Public notice is given of the transaction. And that is a happy circumstance. It will help to knock the bottom from under it. It will help to demonstrate the "lies" that, according to the "Organized Scabbery," are the counts in the long indictment brought against them by the S.L.P.

PROSPERITY.

The Christmas issue of the New York "Herald" contained among its "Situations Wanted" advertisements the following:

"Fireman, with starving family, wishes any position; want no wages; only warm meal; sell his skin and blood."

Inquiry at the address given brought out the following facts:

The applicant is an American citizen; served in the 201st N. Y. Volunteers in the late Spanish-American war, during which he was two months at the front in Cuba, and was finally honorably mustered out; he is sober, industrious and decent. With all this the man's family is starving; one child has already succumbed; he, with wife and three others, stands on the ragged edge, at the foot of which yawns the dark abyss, and from which his advertisement to the public sounds like the despairing cry of one about to be engulfed.

To-day, when comfort for all is possible and involuntary poverty is no longer a visitation against which man stands impotent, one such case as that of this ex-soldier is enough to condemn the social system that can so mismanage its resources. But every intelligent man knows that this one case is not an exception, that it is a type of a numerous class. Capitalism—Hanna-led and Gompers-battered—has produced the miracle of industry in full run accompanied with extensive misery. Time was when the machinery of production was as yet so undeveloped that "prosperity"—that is to

literary day laborers were announced as say, the full running of the industrial plants—was synonymous with "prosperity"—that is to say, the full occupation of Labor. Never at such times did Labor receive more than a pittance of its product; never at such time did Labor work under other than the degrading condition of wage-slavery. Despite that, however, Labor being fully engaged, downright starvation was not possible. To-day, the Capitalist System has reached the point when workmen are ready "to sell their skin and blood" and work simply for "food," notwithstanding the "prosperity" which consists in the full running of the plants. That in this particular instance the victim had fought for the country only aggravates the case; it does not take the case out of the class.

When the Capitalist Class was still young and inexperienced in the art of chicanery, it blantly admitted the trail of human suffering that marked its track. In those early days it threw the blame upon Providence, and set up the "Malthusian Theory" to quiet its conscience. To-day, a veteran in the art of chicanery, the Capitalist Class has changed its tactics, it brazenly denies that there is any such human suffering, it even goes so far as to pretend that it is productive only of manifold blessings, with Labor as the special blessing. But the fraud is so periodically broken through that it is full of holes. One of these ghastly holes is made by that Christmas-day advertisement.

MONSTROSITY MILES.

The bona fide Socialist Movement does not allow itself to be turned from its own path by any of the more or less dramatic, more or less blood-curdling issues that bubble periodically up from the witches' caldron of capitalism. There is no "first step" for the Socialist Labor Party except the step that drills and marshals the working class to move towards the capture of the public powers. But this does not take away the historic significance of many of these issues, or the duty of the Socialist Movement to ascertain exactly what they mean. By ascertaining their significance much information is gathered on the development, sometimes decomposition, other times, that these issues in the capitalist camp are the symptoms of. Such information is always valuable. In this sense the S.L.P. has treated the "inhuman war" now waged against the Filipinos; the "governmental perjury" that has marked the Administration's Cuban policy; the shocking revelations of municipal government that make the stock in trade of reform capitalism; etc., etc. The General Miles incident in the Schley-Sampson incident is of this nature.

Upon the publication of the findings of the Naval Court of Inquiry, Lieutenant-General Nelson A. Miles allowed himself to be interviewed by the Associated Press, and expressed himself frankly and freely taking the side of Schley. Promptly he is called upon to explain by his official superior, the Secretary of War, upon instructions from the President. General Miles' "explanation," boiled down, is the right of a citizen to free speech. Whereupon Miles has a censure administered to him by the President, through the Secretary of War, said to be "the severest ever sent to an officer." General Miles is now mum, but, like Paddy's owl, he must be doing a lot of thinking, and is surely greatly puzzled. Why should he be? That is the point.

This Miles is the identical gentleman, who, not only was in command of the Federal troops, sent to Chicago to break the Pullman strike, but GLORIED IN HIS MISSION. "I broke the backbone of the strike!" was his exultant remark. Now, the act of introducing Federal troops into a State contrary to the explicit formalities provided by the Constitution, especially for the purpose of direct intervention by the Federal powers in a dispute between Capital and Labor, belongs to a social era that is much later, in the order of social development, than that in which a soldier is a citizen, clothed with the citizen's attribute of free speech. In the capitalist frame of society, that social stage, when every blow of the proletariat is felt by the ruling class to be a blow at the capitalist Government and is, accordingly, answered with a counterblow by the Government itself, is a stage of ripened development, while the stage in which a soldier has citizen attributes is an early stage of immature development. General Miles' mind did not develop evenly. One compartment of his head kept step with the capitalist social order: as a limb of the Government himself, he struck at the workmen on strike at Chicago with all the animus of one who "strikes back." Another compartment of his head did not keep step with his own capitalist social order; that compartment is in a state of arrested development: he fails to realize that the soldier has no right to free speech. Undoubtedly he feels puzzled; as puzzled as a monstrosity, half chicken, half goose, would feel in sight of a millpond. The mental monstrosity presented by

the (for free speech) severely censured, and (for lustily "breaking the backbone of a strike") highly praised Lieutenant-General Miles is a gauge by which to measure the social-political distance traveled by the ruling class of America since the days of the Massachusetts "Minute Men."

STAND FIRM ON THE FIRING LINE, THEY ARE OURS!

The "New Yorker Volkszeitung" of Dec. 24 published a letter from one Robert Steller of Paterson, N. J. The letter deserves reproduction in full. Here it is:

"Allow me a few words on the recent occurrences connected with the 'Peace Conference,' and especially on the conduct of Gompers and his kin. It is, indeed, a shame and disgrace what the organized workmen put up with it. Is it to be wondered at that ALL ENLIGHTENED WORKINGMEN AND SOCIALISTS HAVE, SO TO SAY, ACQUIRED A HORROR FOR THE PURE AND SIMPLE TRADES UNIONS, seeing they do not call a decided 'Halt!' and throw the whole pack overboard? And still greater wonderment must be evoked when, at the late convention of the A. F. of L., Socialists could give their votes for a man whom they know to be one of the betrayers of the organized workmen?"

It is safe to conclude that Mr. Steller has been a camp-follower of the Volkszeitung Infantry. What mental aberration or illusion took him there it may be hard to tell. Certain it is that he does not belong there any longer. Nor can his be an isolated case.

The man from that quarter who admits that "all enlightened workmen and Socialists must have a horror for the pure and simple Trades Unions," such a man can no longer be misled into hostility, against the body of men who have that "horror," by the body of men who declare in their national convention that these pure and simple Trades Unions are "to-day nobly waging the class-struggle." The man from that quarter who gags at the sight of "Socialists giving their votes" to a Gompers "whom they know to be one of the betrayers of the organized workmen," such a man must have eyes off which must have fallen the scales that previously prevented him from perceiving that such "Socialists" are mere pirates sailing under false colors.

It is not enough to have evolution work our way: man must give evolution a helping hand. We know it is not enough to have capitalism strangle itself: the Socialists must—by agitation, education and organization—render society ready to support the Old with the New, lest a social cataclysm overtake the race. And likewise it is not enough to allow the "Volkszeitung Infantry," alias "Social Democratic Party," alias "Socialist Party," alias "Public Nuisance Party," etc., etc., to suffocate itself in its own "Organized Scabbery" mire: the Socialist must—by intensified agitation, intensified education, intensified organization, intensified aggressiveness and enthusiasm—raise to the ground the political-scabbey breastwork of the Volkszeitung Infantry that the capitalist class has thrown up alongside of its economic-scabbey breastwork of the Gompers-Lynch "Organized Scabbery."

There is not a sign of the times that whispers to the Socialists of the land an admonition different from: "Stand firm on the firing line; the enemy is yours!"

Charity has given its crumbs to the poor, and as crumbs do not last more than a day the only supposition possible is that the poor can go and starve until the next handful of feed is thrown to it. Two hundred thousand persons unable to buy their own Christmas dinner is proof that prosperity and starvation under capitalism go hand in hand. The capitalist gets the prosperity and the worker gets the starvation, and all he can stand of it.

Kangarooism won a great victory in Chicago. Several rich corporations, made up, of course, exclusively of workmen, have and their tax assessments reduced by over one half. This is just because, as the workingman pays the taxes, these corporations, which were so mightily concerned over their assessments, must have been composed of workmen.

The success in Germany of the experiments made in treating consumptives by keeping them in the open air and amid sanitary surroundings, shows that consumption, like most other diseases, is the result of the physical conditions in which a person lives. This latter fact is all the more strongly proven by the excess of consumption in the tenement districts, and the prevalence there of many highly contagious diseases. A thing that would not be an experiment at all, but would be simply the recognition of a man's right to life, would be to allow him to live in such a way that he would not be poisoned by unhealthy air, by unsanitary dwellings, and by the noxious and death-dealing exhalations of hundreds of thousands of other men. That recognition would mean also that a man had a right to the product of his labor, so that he might live like a human being. Such a condition can only be brought about by the working class, the sufferers, taking into their own hands the powers of government.

The police are busy arresting women in the Tenderloin. Why not vary the monotony of it by running in a few of the men whom they "bother?"

The French are still demanding things of Venezuela. The time has gone by, and went by long ago, when England could be looked upon and spoken of as the "Highwayman of Nations." All nations, large and small, are holding up other nations, when they think they have come across one that is a little smaller and weaker. Dick Turpin justice is meted out. The wrong that is on the side of the smaller nation is that it has something the larger nation wishes. The right on the side of the larger nation is that it is strong enough to get what it is after—or to try to.

Mr. MacLay, who makes history to order, and who was fired out of his job by his friend Roosevelt, has just been sued for not paying his beer bill. The amount was not large—only about \$36, for beer purchased at wholesale rates and consumed in a short time. "If MacLay had only stuck to the beer he might have made a much better shot at the bullseye of history."

Bryan claims to have made \$40,000 on the "Commoner" so far. He has a circulation of 10,000, and he has a few advertisements that appeal forcibly to the farmer and the man who is looking for something for nothing. If Bryan pays anything for publishing and handling his paper, it is difficult to see how he could have even one fourth of \$40,000. Perhaps that amount is what he thinks he will make so far, just the same as a minority of the votes was what he would get so far last election day.

The Boer war has cost the British, so far, the sum of \$1,500,000,000. It is well to reduce this to a comprehensible sum, and no better way can be found than to express it in product and wages. The working class is the only producing class; it is the class whose energy and tireless labor society owes its existence, the class that feeds, and clothes, and shelters, and transports the whole of civilized humanity; the class that furnishes alike the necessities of life—this producing class must therefore necessarily furnish everything that the Boer war has cost. It has been estimated that each worker in a year produces \$1,500 in new values. So an immense army of 1,000,000 men have been steadily employed for over a year paying the devil's fiddler that is playing the capitalist tune of death in South Africa. The working class is the only wage-receiving class. A worker receives on an average one-fifth of his product, or \$300 a year. Then to pay this great cost 5,000,000 men would be forced to surrender their wages. All that is done by the English armies in South Africa, the same as all that is done by the Americans in the Philippines, is for the sole advantage of the capitalist class. It is to the insatiable Moloch of capitalism that the working class offer up themselves, their wives and their little children, and they must continue to do so until they take the political power into their own hands, and put an end to the reign of capitalism, and the evils which accompany it.

A burglar shot in Springfield, O., turns out to have been the Rev. Alonzo Troupe, evangelist, horse thief, confidence man, second story worker, and all round crook. His habit of relieving people of their worldly goods was doubtless due to the fact that he wished to render unto Caesar the things which were Caesar's, he being Caesar for that occasion.

Senator Chauncey M. Depew, who is nearing the four score mark, has married a woman who is young enough to be his granddaughter. Such a marriage as this is repulsive to human and physical ideas. A man, bent with old age, whose mind and faculties are dimmed by time, and whose body has been sapped by a long life, to say nothing of a "strenuous" life, staggering to his grave with a young bride on his arms is a spectacle such as capitalism alone can furnish. If there was any love between the two it was a perverted love. If there is no love, if there are only ambition on one side and senility on the other, the case becomes all the more monstrous.

Captain Bradley Putnam Strong and May Yohe are broke in Yokohama. The Captain spends his time in assaulting and insulting his guests. He is a fine specimen of American manhood.

Max Nordau, at the Zionist Conference at Basle, bitterly denounced rich Jews, saying that as they acquired wealth they were lost to their religion and their race. This is no more true of the Jew than it is of any other race or religion. Economic power brings a Jewish outlook. A Jew may be wholly Catholic, a Catholic may be devoutly Protestant, an Irishman may be unreservedly English, etc., while there is anything to be gained by taking such ground, or while the abandonment of that ground may result in a loss to themselves. When, however, they have reached a certain puissance in economic power, they are capitalist and nothing else. They may still continue to exploit their race or their creed, but they do it as capitalists and not as members or believers. They may protest their love, devotion, and belief, but the love, devotion, and belief cannot stand the test of economic advantages. Capitalism makes men of but one kind—exploiters and exploited. It makes two classes, and the interests of each class in all nations, of all races, and of all creeds, are the same. This fact always actuates the capitalist. He instinctively acts what he may not really understand. The working class, which is not yet class conscious, continues to believe and act on their belief, but in a decreasing measure. As capitalism grows stronger and the real interests become more apparent, this will pass away in the working class as it has in the capitalist class.

Schwab is against trusts, but he is in favor of corporations such as the one which he heads. He says that the trust is now a dead issue, and that it will never again cause any trouble. He is indeed a man of keen perception to find a difference between the trust and the form of organization from which he draws so many hundreds of thousands of dollars every year.

"INDIVIDUALISM."

For dialectical clearness and forcefulness of expression, the below argument by Huxley is peculiarly timely. Every Socialist should be familiar with it. It routes the "individualist's" pretensions, leaving him bare of all claim to logic, knowledge or morality:

"I am unable to see that civil society is anything but a corporation established for a moral object—namely, the good of its members—and therefore that it may take such measures as seem fitting for the attainment of that which the general voice decides to be the general good. That the suffrage of the majority is by no means a scientific test of social good and evil, is unfortunately too true; but, in practice it is the only test we can apply, and the refusal to abide by it means anarchy. The purest despotism that ever existed is as much based on that will of the majority (which is usually submission to the will of a small minority) as the freest republic. Law is the expression of the opinion of the majority; and it is law, and not mere opinion, because the many are strong enough to enforce it."

"I am as strongly convinced, as the most pronounced individualist can be, that it is desirable that every man should be free to act in every way which does not limit the corresponding freedom of his fellow-man. But I fail to connect that great induction of political science with the practical corollary which is frequently drawn from it: that the State—that is, the people in their corporate capacity—has no business to meddle with anything but the administration of justice and external defence. It appears to me that the amount of freedom which corporate society may fitly leave to its members is not a fixed quantity, to be determined 'a priori' by deduction from the fiction called 'natural rights'; but that it must be determined by, and vary with, circumstances. I conceive it to be demonstrable that the higher and the more complex the organization of the social body, the more closely is the life of each member bound up with that of the whole; and the larger becomes the category of acts which cease to be merely self-regarding, and which interfere with the freedom of others more or less seriously."

"If a squatter, living ten miles away from any neighbor, chooses to burn his house down to get rid of vermin, there may be no necessity (in the absence of insurance offices) that the law should interfere with the freedom of his action; his act can hurt nobody but himself. But, if a dweller in a street chooses to do the same thing, the State very properly makes such a proceeding a crime, and punishes it as such. He does meddle with his neighbor's freedom, and that seriously. So it might, perhaps, be a tenable doctrine, that it would be needless and even tyrannous, to make education compulsory in a sparse agricultural population, living in abundance on the produce of its own soil; but in a densely populated manufacturing country, struggling for existence with competitors, every ignorant person tends to become a burden upon, and so far, an infringer of the liberty of, his fellows, and an obstacle to their success. Under such circumstances an education rate is, in fact, a war tax, levied for purposes of defence."

"That State action always has been more or less misdirected, and always will be so, I believe, perfectly true. But I am not aware that it is more true of the action of men in their corporate capacity than it is of the doings of individuals. The wisest and most dispassionate man in existence, merely wishing to go from one stile in a field to the opposite, will not walk quite straight—he is always going a little wrong, and always correcting himself; and I can only congratulate the individualist who is able to say that his general course of life has been of a less undulatory character. To abolish State action because its course is never more than approximately correct, appears to me much the same thing as abolishing the man at the wheel altogether, because, do what he will, the ship yaws more or less. 'Why should I be robbed of my property to pay for teaching another man's children?' is an individualist question, which is not infrequently put as if it settled the whole business. Perhaps it does, but I find difficulties in seeing why it should. The parish in which I live makes me pay for the paving and lighting of a great many streets that I never pass through; and I might plead that I am robbed to smooth the way and lighten the darkness of other people. But I am afraid the parochial authorities would not let me off on that plea; and I must confess I do not see why they should."

"I can not speak of my own knowledge, but I have every reason to believe that I came into this world a small reddish person, certainly without a gold spoon in my mouth, and in fact with no discernible abstract or concrete 'rights' or property of any description. If a foot was not, at once, set upon me as a squalling nuisance, it was either the natural affection of those about me, which I certainly had done nothing to deserve, or the fear of the law which, ages before my birth, was painfully built up by the society into which I intruded, that prevented the catastrophe. If I was nourished, cared for, taught, saved from the vagabondage of a wastrel, I certainly am not aware that I did anything to deserve those advantages. And, if I possess anything now, it strikes me that, though I may have fairly earned my day's wages for my day's work, and may justly call them my property—yet, without that organization of society, created out of the toil and blood of long generations before my time, I should probably have had nothing but a flint axe, and an indifferent hut to call my own; and even those would be mine only so long as no stronger savage came my way."

"So that if society, having quite gratuitously—done all these things for me, asks me in turn to do something towards its preservation—even if that something is to contribute to the teaching of other men's children—I really, in spite of all my individualist leanings, feel rather ashamed to say no. And if I were not ashamed, I cannot say that I think society would be dealing unjustly with men in converting the moral obligation into a legal one. There is manifest unfairness in letting all the burdens be borne by the willing horse."



Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan

BROTHER JONATHAN.—Just as soon as I have a chance I am going to make a list of all the good men in office and all the good men who are being nominated for office.

UNCLE SAM.—To what end?

B. J.—To the end of voting for them, regardless of party.

U. S.—Whither driftest thee?

B. J.—Toward good common sense. Do you think I don't learn from experience? I do. I was until last election a firm Republican, or Democrat, I don't remember which. But I shall not continue to be the slave of any party, not I! I shall henceforth vote an eclectic ticket. I shall only vote for the best man put up.

U. S.—Then you won't vote with me the straight Socialist ticket?

B. J.—Straight ticket? No, sir. There are good men among the Socialists, but they are not all angels. There are pretty bad men among the Republicans and Democrats, I'll admit; but they are not all devils.

U. S.—If you want free trade do you look to the candidates or to the platform when you vote?

B. J.—What do I care for the candidates in such a case. I vote for the platform.

U. S.—If you want high tariff legislation do you look to the candidates whether they are "good" men, or to the platform they stand on?

B. J.—Why, of course not; I vote for the high tariff platform.

U. S.—If you get a notion that what you need is the silver cure, do you stop to inquire of the excellence of the silver bug candidates?

B. J.—No, of course!

U. S.—Now then, what you have admitted amounts to this: That if you are after a principle, it is the principle you vote for not the man. Consequently, so long as you look to the candidates you are not after a principle.

B. J.—By Jericho, caught before I thought of it!

U. S.—If, then, you want Socialism, you should vote for the Socialist platform straight.

B. J.—That's all right, I'm caught. If I want Socialism I should not consider the candidates, but the platform upon which they stand. But (approaching Uncle Sam confidently and in a whisper) now tell me, what guarantee have we that the Socialists, if elected, won't sell out?

U. S.—Did the Abolitionists, or the Republicans when elected, sell out?

B. J.—No!

U. S.—Go further back; did the delegates to the Continental Congress, when elected, sell out to King George?

B. J.—No!

U. S.—Go still further back; did the Roundheads, who made the revolution against Charles I., sell out after they were elected to Parliament?

B. J. (visibly weakening).—No!

U. S.—Come again forward a little; did the bourgeois or the capitalists of France when they captured the third estate sell out to the Royalists?

B. J.—N-n-o!

U. S.—Now, I'll admit that the simple fact that none of these sold out would not be sufficient ground from which to conclude that the Socialists will not sell out.

B. J. (brightening up).—You think so, too, don't you?

U. S.—Yes, I say the simple fact that one man or set of men did not sell out is no guarantee that another won't.

B. J.—That's just what I think!

U. S.—The thing to look into is this: The reason why none of those sets of people sold out. If we find that the same reason does NOT exist with the Socialists, then there would be no guarantee that they won't sell out; but, if we find that the same reason DOES exist with the Socialists, then there WOULD be a guarantee that they won't sell out.

B. J.—Well, is there such a reason?

U. S.—Yes. The reason why the Northern Abolitionist-Republicans in office did not sell out was that they were capitalists; and it was to their interest to abolish slavery, and thereby make labor "free" to compete with itself and have its members mutually cut one another's throats.

B. J.—Was that the milk in that cocoanut?

U. S.—None other. The reason why the Revolutionary Fathers of the Continental Congress did not sell out was that it was to their interest to keep their property, and not let King George tax it away from them.

B. J.—So?

U. S.—Exactly. Likewise with the Roundheads and the French Revolutionists. You will never find that an economic class, when it once acquires a consciousness of its own class interests, ever sells out. Now, then, the people who become Socialists are either proletarians, workmen who have reached a clear understanding of the fact that they and their families are dead gone unless Socialism is established or they are men who, without yet being proletarians, are intelligent enough to realize that their turn will certainly come when they will be wage slaves, and who are decent enough to help instead of retarding human progress. The interests of such people will hold them straight as all other revolutionary

classes have been held straight. No man will sell himself out. The Socialist gives, by the very fact of his being one, the strongest guarantee that he will be true to his platform.

U. S.—Well, that's reasonable enough. B. J.—Will you then vote the ticket straight?

B. J. (emphatically).—You bet! I now see the cat.

Political and Economic.

The "Brauer-Zeitung," organ of the workmen affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, says, in speaking of the recent A. F. of L. convention: "Not one of the burning questions propounding themselves to every thinking workman has been solved, not even touched. The bureaucracy of the American labor movement was assembled there, and only a few ardent workers OF the sacred cause of labor sounded the right keynote, only a few had courage to give vent to the workers' grievances and wants." Why did these "ardent workers OF the sacred cause of labor not succeed? Why are they ardent workers OF the sacred cause? Boring from within must have come to a pretty pass when these workers OF the sacred cause are forced to complain of the way their working of the cause has been treated.

"Citizen and Country," official organ of the Canadian Organized Scabbery has the following: "A Guelph comrade writes to say that although the Single Tax Club disbanded about two years ago the former members are willing to advocate any reform—trades unionism, Single Tax or Socialism." Gee whiz! "The Single Taxer in the Dominion must be a broad case. Here in the United States the reform that the Single Taxer advocates with persistent regularity is a reform in his own financial standing, and he will take on anything that would seem to indicate an opportunity to get more money."

The papers report a sandstorm in California. It must have been formed from what was kicked out of the Social Democrats by the new "Labor" party.

There is a most delightful little childish fight on between "The New York Times Saturday Review of Books and Art," and the publishing firm of Small, Maynard & Co. This firm not long ago got out a book written by 12 persons, and the public was invited to guess who had been guilty of the different parts of the tame worm. In the advertisements 25 having been "invited" to contribute. You were to pick the 12 from the 25 and assign each his right place, or else you did not get the prize. This was evidently a most reprehensible piece of advertising and imposition, and "The New York Times" and "Art" jumped with a great deal of force on Small, Maynard & Co. The publishers now come back and accuse the "New York Times" of having accepted money for advertising the book in a way that it editorially condemned. Neither side has a leg to stand on; the publishers were guilty of juggling in their advertisements: the paper was guilty of assisting in the deception and juggling by accepting money and publishing the advertisements. But of such is capitalist morality.

GENERAL SEWELL DEAD.

He Fought the Battles of the Penn. R. R. in the Legislature and on the Field.

The "Evening Sun" says of the late W. J. Sewell, United States Senator from New Jersey, who died yesterday: "When Joel Parker became Governor, General Sewell was appointed a member of his personal staff. During the railroad strikes of 1877, he was sent by Governor Boile to the most critical point in New Jersey, Phillipsburg, with the Sixth and Seventh Regiments, and was appointed Provisional Commander of the forces at that point. He guarded his post so well that not a ripple of trouble occurred. He was for several years commander of the Second Brigade, National Guard of New Jersey, and was Division Commander at the time of his death."

The "Commercial Advertiser" says of him:

"Upon his return from the army" he attached himself to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. His immediate connection was with the West Jersey Railway Company. It was as the avowed representative of the railroad company that he was elected to the State Senate from Camden County, in 1872, and during nine succeeding years he was the champion of that company's interests on the floor of that chamber. * * * He was especially confidential with Benjamin Harrison during his presidential term, and helped the late Vice President Hobart fill the places in the national cabinet with Jerseymen. He persuaded President McKinley to call John W. Griggs to his side as attorney general, from the governorship of New Jersey, and urged the selection of State Senator William M. Johnson of Bergen to be assistant postmaster general of the United States."

It is unnecessary to a J that both papers praise him highly, and speak of him as a great and a good man. So he was, and so for the capitalist class. It will be noticed that he was the special champion of the Pennsylvania Railroad, that he was the leader of the troops in the railroad strikes of 1877, and that he fought the battles of his road in the legislature and on the field. The workmen murdered by the Pennsylvania Railroad, though their voices have long been still, do not praise Sewell. If the working class understood the significance of his work, they could not praise him. It took working class votes to allow Sewell to do all he did do; to permit that road to dip deep into the public pocket, and brazenly to demand more. It is to the shame of the working class that they gave their votes to a man who was so openly their enemy.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

The Salvation Army Game of At-tempted Intimidation Breaks Down.

December 23d, 1901.
Editor of "People," No. 61 Beekman St., New York City, Sir—

I find, after examination, that your paper has no valuable standing, and only an uncertain circulation of about one thousand, and no financial responsibility of any account, which makes it ridiculous for me to attempt to waste any time on seeking relief for any article, defamatory or otherwise, that this small sheet should print. Very respectfully,

M. J. FERRIS,
Attorney and counsel for the Salvation Army.

[In the measure that the Salvation Army really believes a paper to be small and weak the "Army" would jump upon it. Such is the character of that body's bravado. That the Salvation Army deists is a positive denial of its pretence to believe the DAILY PEOPLE to be an insignificant affair, and that it has since found out that, in trying to bark up the tree of the S. L. P., it tried to bark up the wrong tree. The response to its bullying letter conveyed to it information it needed. That information it is that has induced it to take back water, and it does so in the style characteristic with such concerns.—ED. DAILY PEOPLE.]

Centers of Education.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—Let me say that the Labor Lyceum idea as started in the PEOPLE some weeks ago, is just what is needed in this town and many other towns that I know of, to help the Socialist movement as nothing else can. We should have a warm, comfortably furnished reading and writing room in every working class centre in the land with room where lectures and entertainments can be held, and, if possible, also room for a gymnasium.

Some of the coast sections maintain such headquarters and they are very successful when managed with common sense. Cigars and soft drinks are sold, a laundry agency is kept, subscriptions to the Socialist press are taken and books are sold; which help cover expenses and at the same time give direct strength to the cause.

Let me illustrate the need of such a Labor Lyceum—a need which nothing else can fill—in this town where the section has lapsed owing to the absence of some and the death of one of the most active—Comrade John Hering, who died of heart disease at Lewiston, Ida., last month. Spokane is a centre where miners, loggers and railroad laborers congregate from the Coeur d'Alene, the Kootenai mining district of British Columbia and all parts of Eastern Washington and Montana. At any time of any day and evening can be seen hundreds of workmen who are either taking a rest from the pleasures of a lumber or railroad camp, or looking for a chance to work, standing on the street corners, conversing in groups, filling the cheap theaters, gambling houses, etc., for lack of better amusement.

The Salvation Army maintains a wood yard here and handles cord wood by the carload, exploiting the labor of the unfortunate men who take advantage of its "Shelter"—three or four "Doors of Hope" and such institutions copy the Salvation Army. Both Salvation Army and Volunteers hold nightly street meetings, which are well attended and pick up very good collections from some of these warm hearted and sometimes gullible fellows. Adventists have 10 cent beds (considered very cheap in this country) and serve cheap meals at 1 cent per dish, besides maintaining a reading room, etc. The latter sect, while doing good teaching people the use of nut and grain foods, are unwittingly helping laborers, and helping the capitalist concerns hereabouts reap larger profits.

As students of social conditions well know, most of these philanthropic schemes only help the ruling class and degrade those whom they claim to help. What is needed here badly is just what the writer of "Labor Lyceums" proposed. An empty store in the district I speak of should be rented, fitted up with chairs and tables, reading desks, daily papers, including of course the Socialist press, and a circulating library. Checkers, dominoes and chess tables, a counter with cigars and tobacco, soft drinks and a laundry agency for the use of visitors. Weekly lectures and entertainments should be held, besides holding business meetings of the party or Alliance (which ever conducted the place). This work, if managed with good judgment, would help to inspire the workingman with the dignity of his class, with rebellion against the social conditions which degrade him, and, in short, put the philanthropic money making Salvation Armies, "Doors of Hope," etc., out of business.

It has long been my conviction that the S. T. & L. A. is the proper organization to take up this work, and make these lyceums centers for the organization of the new trades unions upon which we have so much of our hopes for the future.

With these new trades unions and their headquarters, properly managed, reaching the "common" workingman as well as the skilled, we should be greatly helped in our work of putting the old trades unions out of business—just as some day the Socialist Army of emancipation will put the capitalist and his philanthropic assistants out of business—then to inaugurate the new era of Brotherhood, Freedom and Plenty. If I stay in Spokane long enough shall try to get one of these Labor Lyceums started, backed by a sound and solid S. T. & L. A. and S. L. P. Let me urge on the comrades everywhere to take this matter up for their earnest consideration—it is well worth while.

I should like to hear in the PEOPLE from other sections how these clubs are conducted and with what success; and if unsuccessful for what reason.

This movement depends on its advocates to push it to the front, no matter

what some wise owls may dream about. Evolution is bringing the Socialist Republic to us whether we wish to or not. We have had a severe trial lately and stood it well. The darkest hour is just before the dawn and the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. will yet triumph and bring freedom to all. Greetings to all friends and comrades. Fraternally,
Spokane, Wash., Dec. 20. A. H. S.

That "Nobly Waging of the Class-Struggle."

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—I noticed in THE PEOPLE a commentary on the late C. P. R. trackmen's strike, which was reprinted from the San Francisco Railway Employees' Journal about the keen interest, etc., that the other brotherhoods took in the strike.

Chairman Pope of the engineers gave a sample of it when, after the strike was on seven weeks or so and the track had not into such bad condition that wrecks were occurring daily, he issued a letter asking the trackmen to desist from tampering with the tracks and stated that the engineers would stand by the company, thereby implying that the trackmen were causing the wrecks which was absolutely false. The road got so dangerous that the Railway Mail Clerks sent a letter to the Post Master General to have the C. P. R. compelled to put its road in shape. The limited fakirs from the Rockies to Rat Portage North Boy was 14 hours late and that was about the way all trains were then running.

One conductor stated that two-thirds of the passengers were traveling on passes. As to the men, probably a more orderly lot never went on strike. Foremen and all went out standing together until they were faked by the fakirs. From the Rockies to Rat Portage the men had practically all left the road and were working in the harvest.

It is true though that during the latter part of August the brotherhoods were beginning to take a keen interest in the strike but it was only of the kind that men who are liable to be hanged take in the welfare of their own necks. They were becoming afraid to run trains longer over the road.

J. E. Farrell,
Toronto, Ont., Dec. 24.

The "Multi-Coca Party" Caught in the Edibles of the Organized Scabbery.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—The Central Trades Council of Dayton has expelled Ed. H. Thies, a vice president of the Allied Metal Mechanics, also business agent of Metal Mechanics, here for public letters denying the "unfairness" of and absence of strike at the National Cash Register Company. The council is controlled absolutely by Social Democrats; Thies has long been a detriment and eyesore to them. Stick a pin there.

About ninety members of Allied Metal Mechanics belong to S. D. local. These Metal Mechanics, in circular condemn action of council in expelling him, and secretary's name (S. J. Derby, a Social Democrat) is attached to same.

Dispute thus between divisions of the S. D. P. More fun expected over this "union wrecking" episode. This is of national repute. Obtained injunction restraining "Montgomery County Reporter" (official organ of Trades Council) from circulating issues containing account of his expulsion.
K. R.
Dayton, O., Dec. 24.

Rottenness in Erie.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—I have mailed you a copy of the "Erie People," which will give you the news of the doings of Organized Scabbery, or rather what they think they are going to do in the way of politics at the coming city election. The Kings have practically given up and have gone over to the Scabbery bug and baggage. The nominees of all pure-and-simple labor fakirs, with Heydrick as master of ceremonies, or ring-master. More music to come.

L. M. Cunningham,
Erie, Pa., Dec. 25.

Cigarmakers, This Concerns You!

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—A Blue Label Conference, composed of delegates from all shops and districts of the Cigarmakers' International Union in New York, has already met twice in Bohemian National Hall. This conference has been called by the New York Label Board, to discuss the advisability of taxing or rather assessing each member of the rank and file ten cents per week for Label Agitation, additional to that dollar per capita already allowed by the constitution. According to the opinion of several leading spirits, the agitation is to be carried on in New York City first, and vicinities afterward. They want to "drive the Tobacco trust out of business" in short order, and the blue label is going to do the job of giving jobs to fakirs on more "Label Committees," aptly termed "Drinking Committees."

The meetings so far have been far from harmonious. Outside of the leaders and the Kangaroos, it looks as if the rank and file of the members are onto the scheme. Union 141, almost entirely composed of women, is fighting tooth and nail against the measure. Their experiences in the last great strike, which THE PEOPLE alone gave them warning on that this is another attempt to skin them. Who will say there is no progress?

Then there are the old veteran German Cigarmakers, who can scarcely pay the present 30 cent weekly dues, with their continual assessments. They claim that this extra tax is calculated to drive the old members out of the union in order to save the union \$500 apiece (death benefits). Evidently they are not to old to learn and appreciate THE PEOPLE.

The better informed members admit all this and even go a little further, and say that this is only a cunning scheme of the leaders to levy a perpetual tax, in order to raise enormous sums of money for them to waste under the pretence of Label Agitation, but really to create a number of fat sinecures for men like Rosenstein, Ben Asch, Walters,

Goldstein, Modest and others. All these have already drawn small fortunes out of the "Label."

As the membership of the International Union in New York City is about 5,000, a ten assessment makes \$500 a week, or \$24,000 a year, and if you add to this the constitutional dollar per capita, you have a grand total of \$31,000 flowing into the fakirs' pockets.

The interested promoters of the Label scheme are thus trying to bludgeon the members by stating that the money will be used for advertising on "L" roads, ferries, etc. But past experiences show that the one dollar per capita has for the last eight years gone into the pockets of a few unscrupulous and dishonest men, for spurious "work." This new tax will go the same path, when once in their possession.

Cigarmaker.
New York, Dec. 26.

10 per cent of the People of Yonkers Starving or in Need of Charity.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—Yonkers is the home of the Elevator Trust, the Carpet Trust, the Hat Trust, the Andrus Chemical Medicine Works and there are several smaller slave pens in which there are employed about fifteen thousand men, women and children, "mostly women and children." There are also twenty-nine churches, and the Lord only knows how many fraternal societies, "not to mention the pure and simple sick and dying trade unions. All this notwithstanding—or, perhaps, by reason of this—we find that out of 48,000 inhabitants 4,500 are starving or in need of charity, and this state of affairs has been unearthed by our late defeated Millionaire Republican candidate for Mayor, John E. Andrus, "The Yonkers Medicine Man" and worthy treasurer of Ocean Grove. It is estimated that he has coined \$20,000,000 worth of the flesh and blood of the working class into profit, and this is the way he proposes to square himself with the Lord.

It seems that after his defeat for Mayor, he experienced a "Temporary" change of heart, and had letters sent to all the churches, both Catholic and Protestant. The Woman's Institute, the City Judge, Commission of Charities, Superintendent of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Matron of the Health Board and other persons interested in having the poor always with them. Asking for a list of the worthy poor in their respective churches, etc.

When the returns were all in they found there were 900 families recommended for his divine assistance. Of these, 600 qualified, while 300 FAMILIES WERE DEEMED UNWORTHY, and were referred for further investigation.

This city is heralded by the capitalist press as one of the most prosperous cities in the United States. But estimating five persons to a family we find that 10 per cent. of the total population of the city is starving or in need of charity.

Comrades, the capitalist class have proven themselves incompetent to manage the government or machinery of production. All they produce is poverty and misery for the working class. Let us take the control of government out of their hands and run the machinery of production and distribution for the benefit of those who operate them, then and only then, will it be possible for the working people to have a merry Christmas.

JOSEPH H. SWEENEY,
Yonkers, N. Y., Dec. 24, 1901.

On the Beaumont Outrage.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—I have read with astonishment and indignation the report of Samuel J. Garrison, of Orange, Tex., of the cowardly and dastardly treatment meted out to Frank D. Lyon, a citizen of the United States, by the alleged officers of the law, and presumed conservatives of public peace and civic decency.

On the edge of the dawn of the twentieth century, at Beaumont, Tex., one of the most enterprising and wealthy States of this union, a gentleman, in the exercise of a privilege guaranteed to every citizen of the republic, is most brutally assaulted by custodians of Law and Order, encouraged by the brawlers and ruffians that hang upon the borders of decency in all communities.

Astonishment! that in a State whose people owe so much to the bravery and manhood of the early pioneers of freedom of speech and civic rights, under the constitution of the United States as does Texas, a peaceable man, whose views upon a question, upon a theme, enlisting the profoundest thought of the best brains of Europe and America, should be beaten and kicked and lashed, as a galley slave in the darkest days of piracy.

Indignation! that I have lived to see the day, that such a tragedy should be enacted on the soil in a State that gained its independence and shone as the "Lone Star," and at last won its place in the constellation that forms the most promising country in the world, through the bravery, heroism and personal sacrifice of General Sam Houston.

It was the fortune of the writer in early life to be favored with the friendship, the counsel and consideration of that broad minded man and patriot-statesman, and many of his companions in arms; struggling to plant the standard of freedom of thought and liberty of speech in Texas, the land he loved, consecrated by his blood, and where he is entombed. The citizens of Texas, whose intelligence and enterprise, is forging their State with her measureless resources to the front in all that makes a people prosperous and great, I feel do not approve of this terrible deed against Law, Order and Decency. The treatment Mr. Lyon received through the police and the sheriff of Beaumont, smacks of bureaucracy, which is the cause of despotic Russia. In the last few years there have been many alarming illustrations of this tendency in several localities in the United States, that can not be characterized other than usurpation of power by petty officials, and sustained by the local judiciary wholly unwarranted by law, and in opposition to the genius of our government. I think that there are many of my old friends and classmates in Texas who deplore the outrage upon Mr. Lyon and the suppression of free

speech, and who recognize in this age of marvelous progress of human genius and enterprise, that: "No thought let loose, ungoverned, can long a menace be within a tolerant land where every thought should be free." Most certainly the well-ordered people of Texas do not desire that this deed of ruffianism, read by a million of people, shall be considered as an index of the sentiments of their communities. The history of Texas is voiced by as illustrious and brave defenders of liberty and promoters of free speech as was ever rung in the ears of men. From the tomb of Houston and his co-workers comes the thrilling command: "Fence not my realm, Build me no continent pen, Still let my gates swing wide for all the sons of men."

The manly deliberate and unimpassioned recital of Mr. Lyon and Garrison in the DAILY PEOPLE of the 15th of December should be compiled in pamphlet form and placed in the hands of every wage worker, and reading man and woman in the United States, kept in circulation until Free Speech is restored to the people all over the nation, for which right of freedom Bunker Hill and Yorktown and Alamo were fought. Mr. Carnegie could better serve humanity in helping competent speakers, employing them and sustaining them, as missionaries in Texas, to teach the mobocrats of the class to which those belong that have given Beaumont an unenviable notoriety. Far better this than loading shelves with books in dark alcoves to be devoured by months more industriously than to be read by the people.

The alleged grounds of this outrage is extremely shallow; that Mr. Lyon was leading to undue excitement the negroes. The people of Texas held these people as slaves and under the constitution of the United States they became citizens, and as such are entitled to the ballot and its use as well as any of the whites. They are entitled to the privileges of education, the arts and sciences. Is there undue excitement in these people seeking knowledge?

The Law and Order people of Texas, we feel, are cognizant of the INIMITABLE TRUISM: that violence is an avowal of weakness; that while clubs, pistols and straps may be CARDS, facts are TRUMPS; and all lovers of fair play in America, view with sadness and dismay the disreputable doings at Beaumont.

Let "Fiat Lux" be the watchword of the good people of Texas! Let the light of Liberty shine there! Let the light of Toleration shine there! Let the light of Justice and Equity sweep from line to line of her boundaries up and down the Brazos to the Rio Grande, then Texas will shine bright in the galaxy that should enlighten the world.
C. C. POMEROY,
Columbus, O., Dec. 21.

At the Firm of D. Jones and Sons.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—I wish to inform the readers of the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE of the prosperity the wage slaves of the firm of D. Jones & Sons, shirt warehouse, are enjoying.

Last week an order was issued by the firm that all those men who receive above six dollars a week shall be discharged. Those that were discharged graded from \$6.50 to \$8.00, the highest.

Seeing that the discharged men were the experienced, and as "Brother Capital" knew well that this means less work, and that also means less profits, what does he do? He introduces a new skinning, and he tells his markers (which are the head of the helpers, by the cutting table) that they will receive 25 per cent more for every dozen shirts they will cut more in the week, (that will make the helpers work), and after a few weeks the scheme will work the 25 per cent will done away with and the same amount of work will surely be expected, and if not they are the bosses and know what to do.

To these conditions the following sign is found on the walls of the factory, which reads:

"To the employees who take pains never to do any more than they are paid for, never get paid for anything more than they do.—D. Jones & Sons.

This is not all, to this there is a time-keeper, that does not want any wages, nor does he want food, and, in short nothing like the high-paid (?) wage slaves. Sometimes when a wage slave is tired out from his weary half day's work, he rings another number of some kind wage slave. This time-keeper is kind enough not to credit him, and a half day's pay is taken off, though the workers, with all his fellow wage slaves know, that he worked. He is not paid for it, and if he is bold enough to ask for it, he is immediately discharged without being paid that hard-earned half dollar.

The working hours are very short, THEY ARE ONLY TWELVE IN ALL.

The treatment that the men receive, the only true picture that I could give, is the same that Legree gave his chattel slaves before the Civil War.

And another little sign that I nearly forgot, is the one that those unfortunate that come to ask for work have to meet at the entrance:

"No applicants are considered without a written recommendation.—D. Jones & Sons."

The only way to wipe out this system is the establishment of the Socialist Republic.

ABRAHAM MORRIS SCHERZER,
New York, Dec. 23.

Section Vancouver, B. C. Has the Floor.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—Section Vancouver, S.L.P., of Canada, having tried to reach the other sections in Canada through the usual channels, but so far having received no reply to our communications except in one instance (Toronto). We are compelled to use the columns of THE PEOPLE to state our grievances to the members of the S.L.P. of Canada.

Ever since Vancouver was organized the various National Executive Committees have had very vague ideas as to its geographical location. We are only five days measuring by

time from London, Can. Letters answered within five weeks are reckoned by us as being on time and we don't kick very much on that score.

About 8 weeks ago Section Vancouver instructed the Secretary to write Section London asking them to suspend the N. E. C., for neglect of duty. The reasons given were that call for convention and submitting of amendments to constitution did not allow Vancouver time to act in the matter.

Section London sent a letter to our organizer claiming that our secretary's letter was unofficial, Section London having ample opportunity to verify the fact that W. Macklin was secretary of Section Vancouver.

Section London ignored the second letter sent by our secretary, and we would like to know their reasons for so doing.

In April of this year, Comrade Yates was instructed to write to Section London re N.E.C. matters. His letter was not submitted to the section because Section London wasn't able to hold a business meeting owing to their members not turning out, and the letter though addressed to the Section, was turned over to the N.E.C.

Awaiting a reply from Section London, Press Committee, Section Vancouver, per R. McDonald.

Do Socialists Over-Draw the Situation?

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—Enclosed clipping which appeared in to-day's edition of the Salem "News," indicates the enormous number of people who have sought relief in the various institutions. The last U. S. census report gives Salem a population of 35,000. Now divide 35,000 by 2,030 you will find 17 in quotient i. e. one out of every 17 inhabitants had to accept charity of some kind in order to exist.
J. WHITE,
Salem, Mass., Dec. 19.

[Enclosure.] POOR DEPARTMENT SHOWS A REDUCTION OF EXPENSE.

Although Many More Have Been Aided.

The Almshouse Said to Be in Excellent Condition.

The overseers of the poor held their final meeting yesterday afternoon and approved the annual report of the department, from which it appears that the appropriation was \$40,000; the expenditures, \$44,968.65; receipts, \$7,846.40; leaving the net cost of the department, \$37,122.25, or \$1.17.31 less than the previous year.

There have been more than 2,030 persons aided during the year, of which number 196 were in the almshouse, 308 in institutions, and 1,526 in families. This is 24 per cent. increase in the number of cases helped over the previous year, and 50 per cent. more than in 1895. In a year of apparent prosperity this is stated to be somewhat of a surprise, but investigation showed that it was due to the parties being unable to secure employment, although in many cases willing workers.

The report states that from the first of the year the board co-operated with the chief executive in his efforts for economy, with the result that with an increase in the number of insane and dipsonomaniacs, a steady increase in the price of provisions and an increase of 24 per cent. in the number of people helped, the net cost of the department has been decreased \$1,177.31. The number of insane persons have been 154 and dipsonomaniacs 13, which is a decided increase from the previous year.

The almshouse under the present management is reported in excellent condition. The board passed the usual vote of thanks.

The N. Y. "Journal's" Poor "Children."

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—While reading your editorial to-day entitled "Christmas Cheer," I was interrupted by a great deal of shouting from the street. After laying aside my paper I opened the window and there was one of those "Jenny" wagons distributing 300,000 (?) toys. There were about 80 or 90 small children waiting for the Santa Claus on the wagon, to distribute his toys. The policeman on post, who may be a child, received four packages; next door, being a saloon, he necessarily also received three or four packages. Two small children on the sidewalk (after anxiously waiting until Santa Claus returned from the saloon) received each a package. But I nearly forgot the other party receiving a package who happened to be a young lady with diamond earrings, also a diamond ring. She seemed to be about 22 years of age. No doubt she also was a child who had been anxiously waiting for Christmas to arrive. Did not that staunch friend of the working class, the New York "Journal," advertise for weeks ahead (while advertising themselves) that 22 wagons would be sent out "to gladden the hearts of the small children of the city?"

It was a pity to see the poor children who did not receive anything anxiously look at the wagon as it disappeared, no doubt to see some more children, i. e., policeman, saloon keepers and young ladies.

I forgot to say that this wagon was in front of 325 Hudson street, a saloon, where the packages were left.

N. B.
New York, Dec. 25.

In Two Harbors, Minn.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—I must give you a sketch of our meeting here on Saturday night, December 21st, when Comrade Veal addressed the audience. It was not very big but an interesting one. After Comrade Veal spoke about an hour and a half the questions were called for and many of them were asked very freely.

Two principal questioners were Social Democrats. One of them got so hot

that he even went so far as to call the speaker a liar, but Veal did not get excited and every time he asked them if they were through, and then he proceeded with his answers. It went so far that the one that got so mad finally, after the meeting, he came to Veal and said that he believed everything he (Veal) said was true about the pure and simple trade unions, but he said that when he (Veal) hits Debs he hits him, as Debs was his personal friend and he could not stand it to see him abused.

So we had one of the best meetings we have ever had in this town and the result is that a Section is on the way, hoping to complete the organization next Sunday afternoon, December 29th, so we can say that we have made a start before 1901 was over. Onward with the good work of the S. L. P.
V. C. K.
Two Harbors, Minn., Dec. 23.

On Methods of Agitation.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—After reading M. Ruther's letter on the question of traveling or gauziness in the DAILY PEOPLE of the 16th, inst., I must say that he expressed my sentiments exactly, especially when he says no man should be sent out who is addicted to booze. It is very important that the party adhere strictly to that rule. It was on the 3d or 4th of July, 1899, that I found Debs drunk and lost on the streets of St. Paul; he could not find his hotel. He should have spoken in Aberdeen, South Dakota, on one of those dates, but was reported sick. That incident at that time assured me that the S.L.P. had nothing to fear from the Debauchery known now as the "Socialist" party, headed by a man who could not control himself better than that. But that is not all.

While on my way to the S.L.P. convention in New York, I stopped over at Baltimore, Md., arriving there at about 6:30 p.m., on either the last day of May or the first day of June, 1900. I was anxious to meet the comrades of that city and after several inquiries, I was rightly directed to the Labor Lyceum, the S.L.P. headquarters. While making my way as directed, I met a young comrade distributing hand-bills announcing a meeting to be addressed by Thomas A. Hickey, of New York.

I was delighted to think that I would meet and hear Hickey speak. I arrived at headquarters at about 7:10 a.m., and after the usual greetings were exchanged I was told that Hickey would arrive at 7:30 and accompany the comrades to the meeting place, but at 7:30 Hickey was not to be seen. Five, ten and fifteen minutes passed, and no Hickey appeared. I became very anxious about his long delay, almost forgetting that I was in a strange place and not in St. Paul, and after a few more minutes passed without seeing anything of the speaker, I urged one of the comrades to accompany me to the Hotel to ascertain the cause of his non-appearance, and on inquiring of the proprietor we were informed that Hickey was in bed. I asked him to call him at once, which he did. I guarded the back door, while the other comrades guarded the front door to be sure that we did not miss him. He finally appeared on the sidewalk, when he should have been at the meeting place at 8:00. Well after a few glasses had been emptied we got on a car and rode to the meeting where we found the comrades with a horse and truck to be used as a platform and no audience. Everybody except party members and the owner of the horse had gone away. The sturdy comrades were not to be overcome by discouragement. So some of us boarded the truck. I held the gasoline lamp while we drove on until we found a suitable corner to hold a meeting, at which another glass had to be emptied. Well, he made a good address, considering the circumstances, but I felt sure that he made a bad impression on the non-party members who heard him as he was exceedingly flushed in the face and was excessively aggressive, which are indications of excessive boozing. Now, I don't say it was booze; but I do believe it was another case of "green cucumbers" that caused the disappointment in Baltimore. The expenditure of money for printing of hand bills by the Section and the distribution of same by the members was surely money and energy wasted. Let us be more exacting with our traveling organizers in the future, and chase out the boozers, if there be any in the paid service of the party.
Geo. F. Spettel,
Minneapolis, Minn., Dec. 20.

K. B. CHICAGO, ILL.—There is, I am sure, no contradiction in the two passages. It is a common error to quote the emancipation of the negro as being the cause in which the slave did not emancipate himself. The slave did. But the slave who really emancipated himself was not the negro, but the Northern Capitalist. Slavery was a vestige of feudalism, and the Social Democrats of speech on the part of Seward when he referred to the "separation of the slaveholding from the free having ruled" the land and about to "pass the torch" to the Northern Capitalist. To the extent that feudalism still wielded the scepter in the land the Northern Capitalist was a subject slave. The Social Democrats, the blacks was, accordingly, the legitimate work of the Northern Capitalists, it meant THEIR abolition, their emancipation. It meant THEIR selling of the scepter. And they did both.

A. B. H. HOBOKEN, N. J.—C. C. Pomeroy's name is mentioned for by a Columbus, O. comrade. From that we would judge he is not a Party member, but happening to see THE PEOPLE, felt the "elevated" and "liberal" spirit of his former association with Sam Houston, rekindled the fires of his youth within him.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—The address of Julia Carroll, daughter of John Carroll and Margaret Dady, is wished for. Write to Labor News Company, 2-6 New Reade street, this city.

L. K. C. PATTON, PA.—After having pronounced the so-called "Hickey Special" a forgery, and shown it said by the signed statement of one whose signature was forged, this paper said that it is to be said. There is nothing more to be said. The forgery is a forgery. It is a suit for criminal libel for having pronounced the thing a forgery.

F. G. PORTLAND, ORE.—1st: By "government ownership" is understood ownership by a capitalist Government. Such ownership leaves the working class with no power to the Government, as in the case of "donation," or "instance," the Postoffice is "Government Ownership"; the employees are treated like factory slaves in point of wages and management. By "public ownership" is meant that ownership which is preceded by the overthrow of the capitalist class, and that, consequently, can not reflect in "Government" the class rule of capitalism as happens now.

2nd: As to your other question, your letter will be passed over to the N. E. C.

"CIGARMAKER." ALBANY, N. Y.—Everything that the S. T. & L. A. said in May of last year about the great cigarmakers' strike in the city, was subsequently admitted to have been true.

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—The reason your notice did not appear in the WEEKLY PEOPLE is that you failed to comply with the instruction, notice of N. Y. comrades for the WEEKLY, it was stated, MUST be in this office by 10 p. m., on the Tuesday preceding the date of issue.

J. B. NEW HAVEN, CONN.—For the simple reason that neither this paper nor anyone entrusted with its editing, signed in the business of "professional popularity-seeking."

M. P. CHICAGO, ILL.—Carey had ceased to be a member of the S. L. P. when he voted for the army appropriation. He pulled the bulk of the local Section out of the Party and with it had joined the Social Democrats.

If you are getting this paper without having ordering it, do not refuse it. Someone has paid for your subscription. Renew when it expires.

R. B. NEW YORK.—Ask your Single Taxer this question: "What do you imagine a Jefferson, a Franklin or a Adams would have said if he had heard the term 'land

poor'?" Would his surprise not have been great from the circumstance that the term 'land poor' was unknown, and that it was unknown because the economic conditions could not produce the thought back of it? Clear is that clear. What else at that time had all been needed. Consequently, the term 'land poor' could never have suggested itself. But how is it NOW? 'Land poor' is a well known term. What else does that mean but that one may now have land and yet have nothing?

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—
Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Read Street, New York

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA
—F. J. Darch, Secretary, 119 Dundas Street, Market square, London, Ontario.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—
2-6 New Read Street. (The Party's literary agency)

Notice.—For technical reasons, no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Regular meeting held on December 27, at Daily People Building, 2 to 6 New Read Street, New York. August Gibson in the chair. All present. Financial report showed receipts for two weeks, \$37.80; expenditures, \$65.03.

A communication was received from Section Denver, Col., informing the N. E. C. that the Secretary of the State Executive Committee, who is a member of Section Denver, has taken office in a pure and simple union. The Section wanted to know whether, in view of such flagrant violation of constitution, the offending member could be expelled without a trial. A clipping from the "Denver News" of December 16 was also received stating that a new union of the Boot and Shoe Workers (Tobin's organization) had been organized in the American Federation of Labor in the city of Denver. Among the officers elected the clipping gives "H. Warnecke" as financial secretary. National Secretary reported that he has answered the Section's communication to the effect that the Section must proceed according to the Constitution, i. e., prefer charges and to try such charges.

Communications received also from Salt Lake City, Utah, reporting good work for the Party and enclosing application as a member at large of Edwin W. Grant, of Bingham, Utah. Application granted. San Francisco, Cal., reports suspension of Benjamin Strassman for accepting appointment from Election Commissioners as election clerk; also enclosing copy of election law. From Abington, Mass., in reference to matters in the State.

From Charles H. Corrigan, from Schenectady, N. Y., reporting agitation meetings held in Albany, Troy, Schenectady and Watervliet. From Section Milwaukee, Wis., inquiring as to causes leading to Forker's resignation.

From San Antonio, Tex., reporting situation and activity in the Lyon matter. From Pueblo, Col., inquiring whether the acting as a delegate to a central body of a pure and simple union is to be considered as holding an office in name; National Secretary instructed to inform that it is so considered and is contrary to the Constitution.

From Organizer Jordan reporting work of agitation and local condition of cities visited.

From Section Buffalo, N. Y., to the effect that said Section has passed a vote of censure on the N. E. C. for neglect of duty committed in allowing Joseph Sauter, a member of the Board of Trustees, to neglect his duty on that Board, instead of either compelling him to attend meetings or replacing him. The N. E. C. desires to say that Section Buffalo, evidently, is not very familiar with the Constitution of the S. L. P., and the position of the Board of Trustees as given therein, which is such that the N. E. C. could not possibly interfere with the details of the work of the Board; moreover, it must here be stated that no effort was ever made on the part of the Board to have Sauter replaced, insofar as N. E. C. is aware, nor has the Board to this day informed the N. E. C., officially, that any of its members was guilty of neglect of duty, nor was the N. E. C. ever informed officially when and how often meetings of the Board were held. Interference by the N. E. C., as the Constitution stands, naturally implied a case of great importance, to be resorted to only in case of emergency.

From Cleveland, O., relative to Middle West Circuit. Motion carried that the Indiana State Executive Committee take charge for the ensuing six months. From New Britain, Conn., inquiring for information relative to the circular of the N. E. C. Information granted. From Section Boston, reporting filling of two vacancies, caused by resignation of Recording Secretary and Literary Agent. Adjourned. JULIUS HAMER, Recording Secretary.

Canadian S. L. P.

London, Ont., Dec. 16.—Regular meeting of the National Executive Committee, D. Ross, chairman. Ashplant absent without excuse. Towson absent and excused. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read.

Correspondence.—From Comrade Kuhn of United States S. L. P. re John Spargo of London, Eng. Contents carefully noted and acted upon. From Section Vancouver re Comrade H. B. Ashplant advertising in "Appeal to Reason." On account of other business the matter was laid over till next meeting, when Comrade Ashplant will be notified to attend. From Sections Toronto, Hamilton, St. Thomas and Vancouver regarding the new constitution left in hands of secretary to compile for referendum vote. From Section Hamilton asking N. E. C. to see Comrade R. Snyder ex-litery agent of that section, but now residing in London, about matters pertaining to that office. The secretary instructed to send Section Hamilton Comrade Snyder's address and notify them to communicate with direct.

Reports.—Hasegrove reported speaking in St. Thomas on Thursday, 5th inst., and was asked to return Thursday next. Report received and comrade instructed to return as requested.

On motion of Hasegrove, seconded by Boyce, the secretary was instructed to once more notify Comrade Ashplant that the report of the national convention has not yet been handed in.

J. P. COURTNEY, Recording Secretary.

New York State Committee, S. L. P.
At the last regular monthly meeting of the above committee, S. D. Cooper presided. The Financial Secretary re-

ported regular receipts for November, with balance on hand \$255.35, expenditures during November, \$189.72. The contributions toward the agitation board (which has become dissolved by the withdrawal of Pennsylvania and New Jersey State Committees) were during the month of November as follows:

Section New York \$ 6.15
Section Troy 1.30
Section Auburn60
Section Rochester 3.00
L. A. 351, S. T. & L. A., Albany 10.20
Total \$21.25

A bill of \$54.75 presented by the labor News Company was settled.

The Secretary was empowered to arrange an organizing tour with Comrade Corrigan.

The sub-committee, appointed to consider the appeal of Caroline G. Gross from her expulsion by Section Syracuse reported as follows:

New York, Dec. 4, 1901.

To the New York State Executive Committee:

Comrades:
Your sub-committee, after a careful examination of the appeal of Caroline G. Gross from the decision of Section Onondaga County expelling her from membership in the party, recommends that the appeal be sustained for the following reasons:

1. Specification one of the charges is unfounded, because the eucure party in question was not held "for the purpose of creating the impression that it was under the auspices of Section Onondaga S. L. P." as alleged in this specification, but was manifestly held for the purpose of raising funds. The specification is also incorrect in that it states that the eucure party was held under the name, "Arm and Hammer Social Club," whereas the tickets for the affair, two specimens of which were submitted to us, give the name as the "Arm and Hammer Club." In so far as the charge of having created the impression that the eucure party was held under the auspices of the Section is concerned, the action of the appellant seems to have been open and above board and if any one did conceive such an impression, so long as she was not guilty of having created it, she should not be punished.

2. Specification two is admittedly true, but we cannot see how it can, under the circumstances related, militate against the appellant, who, after the Section had refused to endorse the eucure party might reasonably consider herself released from any promise made to secure such endorsement.

3. Specification three is also admittedly true, but it cannot stand for the same reason, namely, that the refusal of the Section to endorse the affair, obliterated the right of the Section to insist upon the fulfillment of promises made to secure its endorsement.

On these three counts it appears to us the Section has no case. It might, by straining a point, be considered an infraction of discipline on the part of Miss Gross had she promised the Section a report of the affair AFTER its refusal to endorse the same; and she may have been guilty of a breach of faith in turning over the proceeds of the affair to the DAILY PEOPLE instead of to the Section after a promise to do so; and she may have secured the support of individual members because of such promise, but these are not the counts upon which the charges are based and upon which they were tried. Even if they were, the penalty imposed must be considered as entirely too severe.

The apparently harsh attitude of the Section has evidently also provoked the appellant and thus a situation was created that might, upon more careful consideration, have been avoided.

Signed:
A. C. Kihn,
Henry Kuhn,
Committee.

The report was considered and unanimously concurred in.
The same committee presented the following report on the appeal by Joseph Otto from his suspension by Section Buffalo:
New York, Dec. 4, 1901.
To the New York State Executive Committee:

Comrades.—In the matter of the appeal of Joseph Otto, against his suspension from the party for six months by Section Buffalo, your committee finds that the whole case hinges upon Otto's promise to pay \$10 for a share of the "Buffalo Arbeiter Zeitung," which share was to be owned by the section. The promise was made with the qualification that he (Otto) would pay if the Eleventh Ward Club, of which he was a member, did not pay for it. It appears that this Ward Club afterwards reorganized as a Ward Branch of the S. L. P., a subdivision of Section Buffalo, and in the minutes of both organizations the obligation to pay this money, or part of it, is assumed and the authenticity of these records cannot be called in question.

As a further mitigating circumstance, it appears that the appellant has lost a considerable sum of money in giving financial aid to an S. T. & L. A. co-operative shoe factory venture, and that he is in financial straits as a consequence.

While at first opposed to the plan of capturing the "Buffalo Arbeiter Zeitung," he eventually yielded and, in accordance with the section's stipulations, which were thoroughly correct, he assumed responsibility of payment for a share of this stock with the aforesaid proviso. In his eventual inability to pay, we find no ground for charges any more than if a comrade were unable to meet payment of a pledge for any party fund.

For these reasons we recommend that the appeal be sustained.

Signed: A. C. KIHN,
HENRY KUHN,
Committee.

After consideration the report was unanimously concurred in.
As to filling the vacancies on the committee, the Secretary was instructed to send out the call for the vote as soon as the nominations were reported by Section New York.

Adjourned.
H. VOGT, Secretary.

"ABEND-BLATT" FUND.

| | |
|---|----------|
| Previously acknowledged | \$237.05 |
| Textile Workers, L. A. 262, | |
| Hall River | 3.00 |
| H. Mager | 2.20 |
| W. Bittner | 1.00 |
| A. Winer | 2.20 |
| I. Kamerman | 2.20 |
| B. Seinfeld | 2.20 |
| M. Gruno | 1.00 |
| L. Grober | 2.20 |
| S. April | 2.20 |
| Tailors Progressive Union | 32.00 |
| H. Raices | 2.00 |
| H. Bruckman | 1.00 |
| E. Forbes, Brooklyn | 1.00 |
| James J. Brooke | 1.00 |
| Lokschon-Macher | .50 |
| L. Rosenzweig | 2.00 |
| A. Cohen | .50 |
| D. Feinberg | 1.00 |
| Collected by Herman Rosen on list 480: | |
| Herman Rosen | 1.00 |
| Friedman | .25 |
| S. Frank | .10 |
| B. Fanny | .10 |
| Herman Rosen | .10 |
| Stark | .10 |
| M. Moskowitz | .20 |
| Patsy | .10 |
| Jus. Schneider | .15 |
| M. Winkler Lawrence | 1.11 |
| B. Perlman Bronsiville | 1.00 |
| List 409 Section Collinsville, Ill.: | |
| Frank Accordie | .50 |
| Alfred Malson | .50 |
| William Weil | .50 |
| John Francis | .25 |
| Jacob Rich | .25 |
| William Cox | .10 |
| Joseph Braka | .25 |
| Tommy Accordie | .25 |
| Frank Gayer | .25 |
| Francis Gayer, Jr. | .05 |
| Section Denver, Col.: | |
| Ernest Romory | .50 |
| Harry Chase | .25 |
| Chas Mullia | .25 |
| E. J. Gross | .25 |
| Ed. Wernett | .25 |
| Carl Starkenberg | .25 |
| Albert Gunlin | .25 |
| Howard Tryon | .25 |
| Andrew Ohman | .25 |
| C. Bender | .25 |
| C. S. Towler | .25 |
| Rob. Holtzweig | .50 |
| Fredel Feldman | 2.00 |
| O. Linetzky | 5.00 |
| O. Wichaick | 5.00 |
| D. Friedman | 2.30 |
| H. Levin | 1.00 |
| Morris Lachnovich | 1.00 |
| J. Feldman | 1.00 |
| List 2 by S. Balson— | |
| Max Davidson | 1.50 |
| Jacob Hannett | 1.00 |
| M. Brook | 1.50 |
| Isidor Perlstein | 1.00 |
| Harry Kop | .50 |
| N. | 1.00 |
| Abe M. Kuntz | 2.00 |
| Charlie Molz | .50 |
| Samuel Perlstein | 1.00 |
| C. M. Elmiria, N. Y. | .50 |
| Collected by Sam Baral, Brooklyn | |
| Sam Baral | .25 |
| Giner | .25 |
| Rubin | .25 |
| Yolshitz | .25 |
| Duboff | .25 |
| Siegel | .15 |
| Frank | .15 |
| Shapiro | .10 |
| Dunner | .10 |
| Salman | .05 |
| List 49 by 20th A. D., Manhattan, by Winawer— | |
| John Slevin | .10 |
| Louis Isaacson | 1.00 |
| H. Ahons | .25 |
| H. Symptahiser | .10 |
| Carl Olson | .10 |
| S. Winawer | .10 |
| Total | \$357.91 |

SPECIAL FUND.

| | |
|--|------------|
| (As per circular letter, Sept. 3, 1901.) | |
| Previously acknowledged | \$4,324.02 |
| Branch Plainfield, N. J. | 1.00 |
| Section Bridgeport, Conn. | 1.50 |
| Section Denver, Col. | |
| A. Wernet | 1.50 |
| Ed. Wernet | 1.00 |
| E. Gross | 1.00 |
| Lar Rasmussen | .50 |
| Howard Tryon | .75 |
| John Neilson | 1.00 |
| Carl Starkenberg | 2.00 |
| B. E. Preston | 2.00 |
| Ernest Romory | 1.25 |
| 23rd A. D. N. Y. City— | |
| John J. Murphy | 5.00 |
| J. Plomoudon | 1.00 |
| P. Twomey | .50 |
| W. Lawson | .50 |
| Proceeds of lecture, per Austin Lewis, San Francisco, Cal. | 37.00 |
| 6th A. D., Brooklyn, N. Y. | 7.00 |
| 21st A. D., Branch 2, Brooklyn | |
| D. Friedman | 8.00 |
| L. Bohem | 1.00 |
| B. Levin | .50 |
| D. Kaplan | .50 |
| 18th A. D., N. Y. City— | 50.00 |
| Sections Albany and Rensselaer Counties, N. Y., part proceeds of dance | .75 |
| Section Troy, N. Y., collection | 3.87 |
| Section Troy, N. Y. | 9.00 |
| Joe. Finkbuhner, Philadelphia, Pa. | 1.00 |
| Branch Buena Vista, Pa.— | |
| W. B. Thomas | .50 |
| Thos. Thomas | .50 |
| Robert Davoni | .25 |
| Louis Davoli | .25 |
| Angelo Casana | .50 |
| Richard Davoli | .50 |
| Santo Callavini (sympathizer) | .15 |
| Jiavaudi Anzotto | .15 |
| Refaele Saxonzi | .15 |
| Quarinfied Fedele | .25 |
| L. Guerrino | .25 |
| N. N. | .10 |
| N. N. | .05 |
| Simonausi Francesco | .25 |
| Section Pawtucket, R. I.— | |
| J. J. Reavey | .50 |
| A. J. Couole | 1.40 |
| Austin Beaudreau | 1.00 |
| W. Habersham | .50 |
| Wynn Tibbetts | 1.00 |
| John Farrell | 1.00 |
| Section Belleville, Ill. | |
| Edw. Haerbich | 1.00 |
| Joe Kiefer | 2.00 |
| Walter Goss | 2.00 |
| Wm. Tochum | 1.00 |
| K. C. 34th & 35th A. D., N. Y. | 1.00 |
| 10th A. D., N. Y. | 8.00 |

Mrs. H. E. Friel and Mrs. H. B. Stamper, Wick Haven, Pa. 14.00
Section Sherrodsville, O.—
David Morrison25
Alx. Morrison25
John Morrison25
Thos. Henry25
Joseph Henry25
Francis Henry25
R. A. McC., Wilmerding, Pa. 1.00
Daniel De Leon, 28th A. D., N. Y. City 15.00
Total \$4,500.14
EDWARD DITTRICH, Cashier.

Frank D. Lyon Fund.
John J. Murphy, N. Y. City \$2.00
James Harkow, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1.00
Section Sheboygan, Wis. 2.00
A. B. West Hoboken, N. J. .25
Albert Schmutz, Louisville, Ky. 1.00
Ex-members Daily People Chapel, J. Keenan, E. Montagne, A. Contant, D. Hosman, H. Lightbourne 2.50
Section Lynn, Mass., D. S. Law, 25c.; Keefe, 25c.; Oldham, 10c.; Lereven, 25c.; O. J. Hughes, 50c.; Michael Tracy, 25c.; Hagan, 10c.; Gibson, 25c.; Thiet, 25c.; Travers, 25c.; Mauley, 25c. 2.70
James T. Hunter, N. Y. City 1.00
Section Allegheny Co., Pa., 20th Ward Branch, 45; 27th Ward Branch, 43 8.00
Total \$20.45
Previously acknowledged \$355.50
Grand Total \$375.95
Henry Kuhn, Nat'l Sec'y.

W. EVANS FUND.
Previously acknowledged \$22
Section Seattle, Wash. 25
Thomas O'Shaughnessy, N. Y. 1
Total \$48
R. McDONALD.

Agitation in Providence, R. I.
Discussion meetings are held under the auspices of Section Providence in Scandia Hall, No. 98 Weybossett street, every first and third Sunday at 2 P. M. In Textile Hall second and fourth Sunday evenings at 8 P. M.

Hartford, Conn., Attention!
The semi-annual meeting of Section Hartford will take place Wednesday, Jan. 8, 8 p. m., in S. L. P. Hall, 892 Main street. Election of officers for ensuing term and other important business to be transacted. All comrades should be present. Mat. Lechner, Organizer.

Attention, Cleveland, O.
Next regular meeting of Forest City Alliance 342 of S. T. & L. A., which comes on New Year has been dispensed with as one of the local branches has an entertainment on that night.

The following officers were elected at the last meeting on Wednesday, Dec. 18:
Organizer—Max Weber.
Recording Secretary—G. Duerr.
Financial Secretary—R. Koepel.
Treasurer—J. J. Howell.
Sergeant-at-Arms—Ed. Keim.
Auditing Committee—Ed. Keim, F. Gesner, and A. Carlson.
Grievance Committee, J. Davey, J. Bindbeutel, and W. J. Howell.
Agitation Committee—F. Brown, J. George, and J. Rugg.

To the Sections of Connecticut.
The benefit for the State Committee has been postponed until December 31, and will be held in conjunction with an entertainment by Section Hartford.
Jas. J. Manee, Sec'y.

L. A. 345, San Francisco.
The following officers have been elected for the first six months of the ensuing year: Organizer, S. B. France; recording secretary, John Sandgren; financial secretary, John Sandgren; treasurer, C. Remke; sergeant at arms, A. K. Wind; agitation committee, F. Sibert, W. Weiss, E. Emanuelson; grievance committee, F. W. Low, E. J. O'Connell, J. T. Vaughan; auditing committee, J. H. Hall, H. B. Scherger; advisory committee, G. B. Wright, J. L. Wright, F. W. Low; managers of headquarters, G. C. McShane. All were unanimously elected and the local is now in good fighting trim for next year.

Free Lectures in Cleveland, Ohio.
All workmen of Cleveland, Ohio, are cordially invited to attend the lectures which are held every Sunday afternoon at 8 o'clock at Schlay's Hall, No. 358 Ontario street, top floor (German American Bank Building). Following are the subjects:
January 5.—"Why American workmen should be Socialists," speaker W. J. Holwell.

S. L. P. Lectures in Pittsburg, Pa.
Workmen of Allegheny County are invited to attend the lectures which are held every Sunday, 2 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters, No. 111 Market street.
Jan. 5, Hamlet Jackson: "Why the Rich will not become Socialists."

Everett, Mass., Lectures.
A course of lectures will be held by Party Everett of the Socialist Labor Party at their headquarters, No. 154 School street, room 3, Everett, and Wednesday evenings.

The subjects and speakers are as follows:
Jan. 5th: "The Educated Proletarian," by A. M. Grant.

Public Debate in Buffalo.
A public debate on "Socialism vs. Single Tax" will be held between Comrade R. Reinbach and W. S. Rann, attorney for the City Harbor Commission on Sunday, January 5, at 3 p. m. Sharp. The debate will be held under the auspices of the Buffalo Labor Lyceum in Florence Parlors, 527 Main street, near Genesee street. The seating capacity of the hall being a very limited one, the comrades and readers of this paper who wish to attend will do well to be present at the hall a little earlier. Doors open at 2:30 p. m. Bring friends and showmates. Admission free.

OPPORTUNISM.

(Continued from page 3.)

adulteration and the use of false weights. It lives from hand to mouth and has all the vices of those whose conditions of life are unstable.

The political morality of this class has been shown in the Populist movement, which proved itself to be but a more political enterprise of the baser sort, and which succumbed directly any chance of preference was offered to its leaders. A more disgraceful exhibition of venality and cowardice cannot be found in history by a party of the size and importance of the Populist party.

The elections were hoodwinked, sold and deceived in a manner which cannot be described as other than scandalous. This class is everywhere tainted in the same way and is the living example of the truth of the materialist philosophy and bears evidence to the fact that material conditions are the most important determinants of social morality.

Such a class can never charge itself with the work of the social revolution, and it is the merest folly to cater to it in any way, for a successful agitation among its members would result in a mushroom growth of uneducated and unsuccessful schomers, the halt, the maimed and the blind in the battle of life, the failures of our social system.

The Socialist who investigates the springs of social action, who conceives of the progress of the movement, not as a series of disconnected reforms, but as an even and steady growth in certain well known and necessary directions, must eliminate this class as an active factor in the movement. Perhaps votes may be extracted from it, but any compromise made to gain such votes will bring its own penalty with it.

There remains only one class, the proletarian, which possesses no tools and no capital. This is the class which must take upon itself the burden, to which we must look for action and which must determine the course of the movement.

In America, more than anywhere else, the entire part must be played by the proletarian, for here, as has been stated, the antithesis is more complete than elsewhere. This statement must be true or the whole theory of modern Socialism is false.

The fact of the class struggle is now evident to every student of social science. It is conceded on all hands by the later men, some of whom like Sombart and Loria, lumber us with arguments with which the Marxists have long been familiar.

The latest development of the lower middle class party, the Social Democratic party, also recognizes this, for in its program it states the necessity of a proletarian movement and then proceeds to nullify its own assertions. The mere fact that a party takes upon itself to make a Socialist declaration of faith is proof only of the potency of the word Socialist. Even the fact that a party professes to hold a certain set of principles is by no means conclusive.

The result of the last five years' agitation has been to drive the restless portion of the lower middle classes from Populism to Social Democracy, from the attempt to perpetuate the small farm and the small store to the attempt to perpetuate the pure and simple trades union.

Trades unions are in a certain sense proletarian bodies, that is, if they are fighting organizations. In another sense they may be lower middle class organizations. Their benefits, sick dues and in some cases old-age insurance funds, render the repositories of small capitals, the eyes of the members are directed with mingled hope and fear to the chest of the institution, their all is invested there, it must be preserved and so the old trades unions become lethargic and corrupt, providing a livelihood for various officials who trade with the politicians for the votes which they control. This form of trades union is an undoubted evil. Even in England, where the richer trades unions have succeeded in sending some members to Parliament, they are of no practical value to the interests of the working class as a whole.

They are simply the agents of the special body which sent them there, and are in other respects the steady supporters of the Liberal party. So also in this country the officials make their influence with the trades the stepping stone to preferment chiefly in the Democratic party. Nothing can be done with these people, it is impossible to make Socialists out of them. In England, where trades councils frequently pass collectivists resolutions, the Socialist vote shows conclusively that such resolutions do not receive the approval of the rank and file of the members. Speaking generally the unions are corrupt financially as well as politically, they are the abodes of scandal and their practical value as economic weapons may be gauged by the fact that they have not won a single economic fight of the first magnitude in the last ten years. Ignominious defeat has been their portion and defeat usually accompanied by riot and mob violence. A very large English manufacturer said recently: "Six years ago trades unions were feared, now they are despised. We have left them behind. We are as highly organized as they are and they cannot approach us in leadership. You see we have the brains."

Thus we have left as material but the great mass of the laboring population. This is a comparatively new soil, in that there is an advantage. Occasionally of necessity the members of this class will lose their way among the technicalities of politics and will learn the right direction by their own experience. In its freedom from outside control and dictation lies its salvation and the severe discipline which it requires is the preserver of its integrity.

And as a matter of fact the proletarian can best afford in every way to forward the interests of his own movement. It is work of a new character for him after his day's work is over and furnishes him that change and recreation which his divorce from the church has rendered it necessary that he should seek in some other non-ecclasiastical direction. Through and by means of the movement he acquires an amount of knowledge which would otherwise be beyond his reach and an acquaintance with

modern science and modern history which he would in all probability never otherwise have thought of gaining except in connection with a movement in which are centered his hopes and his ambitions.

It is permissible here to protest against that view of the Socialist movement which regards it from an altruistic standpoint. Altruism is no foundation, morally, intellectually or practically. In Thomson's Coriolanus it is said "A people who cannot find in their own proper force their own protection are not worth saving." This applies here. The problem is presented to the proletarian, he must solve it, no one else can solve it for him.

And in the solution of this problem the proletarian will take his learning from those who can supply learning, but his actions he will regulate according to his class instincts. AUSTIN LEWIS.

Dalton to Lecture in Yonkers.
Branch Yonkers, Section Westchester county, will have a lecture in Devitt's Hall, No. 11 Washburnton avenue, Friday evening, January 3, at 8 o'clock. Wm. S. Dalton will lecture on "Slavery and Charity." All readers of THE PEOPLE and sympathizers are invited. Party members should make it a point to bring their friends.

Entertainment Committee of Greater Boston.
A meeting of this committee was held at Everett headquarters on Sunday, Dec. 22. The following comrades were present: Johnson, Jones, Grant, Miller, White, McPhee, Engelstadt, Rudderham and Cullen. After hearing the report of the Committee on Hall it was decided that it was not feasible to hold a hall this year, but to bend all the energy of the committee for a successful Commune Festival to be held on March 16. Comrades Grant, Jones and Johnson were appointed as a committee to provide a musical and literary entertainment and the secretary was instructed to communicate with Comrade Keirand of New York, and secure his services for a lecture. The next meeting of the committee will be held at Everett, on Sunday, Jan. 5, at 3 p. m. All members of committee are requested to be present.
Albert M. Grant, Sec'y.

Section Duluth S. L. P.
Section Duluth has elected the following officers:—
Organizer—Edward Kriz.
Recording Secretary—Victor Hellstrom.
Corresponding Secretary—Louis Dworschak.
Literary Agent—Louis Dworschak.
Financial Secretary—Treasurer—J. P. Johnson.

Grievance Committee—Carl Thiel, Ed. Couray, and V. Hellstrom.
Press Committee—J. H. Opperman, Julius Dworschak, and Louis Dworschak.

To S. L. P. Sections in Connecticut